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What is wrong with Washington?
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A Party with the Courage of No Convictions?

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Ron Keeva Unz
555 Bryant St #371
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CORRESPONDENCE

The richest man in town

Your annual Christmas article ("The richest man in town," William E. Saracino, *CPR Online*, Dec. 21, 2005) is still good upon re-reading.

A sad commentary on our times: A few years ago, the *Wall Street Journal* ran an op-ed by a financial expert who analyzed George Bailey's actions in the movie under "modern" banking laws. He identified a long list of violations. As I recall, the author concluded that if regulators fully prosecuted Bailey, they could put him away for a couple of hundred years and fine him for millions.

Paul J. Meyer
Sacramento

Barabbas — and Tookie

Re: William E. Saracino's "Liberals shout 'Give us Barabbas'," (*CPR Online*, Dec. 14, 2005), Arnold should not have been burdened with Pilate's task 26 years after Tookie's barbarism. Tookie should have been dispatched to his ultimate end 10 to 15 years ago after having been found guilty in the original trial court(s), with that conviction sustained by the various appellate courts, including the leftist 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. No one doubts he committed the crimes.

He should have been executed by shotgun, without the benefit of sodium pentathol, in the same manner that he executed his four innocent victims, including a child, 26 years ago. Tookie was not executed, but euthanized, as is the custom in latter-day California, if these sentences are actually carried out at all. He did not suffer the agony at the time of his death that he inflicted upon his victims. Arnold correctly analyzed Tookie's last, specious appeal and made the right decision.

RQ Williams
Napa

Too much hope?

Roll model? Schwarzenegger finally hitting his stride? (from *CPR's* cover, Nov./Dec. 2005) If that's the best we can do, perhaps it's time to quit.

James Francis
San Rafael

CPR Editor John Kurzweil responds:

The "roll model" our cover referred to was Churchill, not Schwarzenegger, whom we implied had finally come to appreciate the implacability of his opponents and had adopted the former prime minister's no-nonsense resolution in fighting them. Evidence indicates that the governor's final campaigning *was* effective, markedly improving the final outcome, but that it came far too late to save any of the good initiatives from defeat. The headline, admittedly, might have represented a slight triumph of hope over reasonable expectation, but to err — within limits — on the side of hope seems preferable to erring the other way.

Snail mail blues

I hate to say this, because I love *CPR*, but your "pre-election" issue (Nov./Dec. 2005) arrived in my mail box on Nov. 17.

Patricia Chavez
Torrance

CPR Editor John Kurzweil responds:

My sincere apologies for the late

(Please turn to page 29)

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SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

A particularly literate source recently described the Sacramento GOP's current mood by quoting Richard III: "Now is the winter of our discontent," showing she knows both politics and Shakespeare. But at that, she still underestimates the depths of gloom into which the Capitol's Republicans have fallen. Their discontent, 'way beyond wintry, is a deep-frozen glacial.

It is difficult to overstate how badly the governor's appointment of the hyper-partisan, extremely liberal Susan Kennedy as his chief of staff (COS) was received at all levels of the GOP. From the squishy soft mega-donors to both legislative caucuses to the grass roots on the state central committee to "name" conservatives who supported Schwarzenegger (instead of McClintock) in the recall — that is, just about everyone — is aghast. My canvas of Republican reaction turned "Home on the Range" on its head: I never heard an encouraging word about Ms. Kennedy.

The governor's contention — echoed gamely by Ms. Kennedy — that she would only "follow orders," faithfully implementing the governor's plan rings hollow to those who know how government works. A COS often wields more clout and influence than the elected official he or she serves. They always have more say on day-to-day decisions than does their boss, who never has time to dabble in any but the most important decisions. In addition, in day-to-day operations, nuance can be everything. So unless Ms. Kennedy does a Vulcan Mind Meld with a conservative, those every-day nuances are going to be not just liberal, but far left. That "personnel is policy" is a political truism, and the top spot on the Schwarzenegger personnel chart is now occupied by a Gray Davis enforcer who says her heroes include Jane Fonda.

The governor compounded the trouble with his now infamous "foot-in-mouth" accusation that GOP legislators oppose Kennedy mainly because she is a lesbian. This slur seriously angered most members, and, unless the governor makes a public apology, it will likely cost him GOP floor votes in both houses in the new session. Assembly GOP Leader Kevin McCarthy was said to be irate that these details about a closed meeting were leaked, but the GOP rank and file have a right to know when their "leader" is so far off base.

Team Schwarzenegger's political geniuses tried some delayed damage control by appointing former GOP legislator Fred Aguire cabinet secretary and former top GOP staffer Dan Dunmoyer deputy chief of staff. They are both good men and worthy appointments. But as with the botched special election, this delayed reaction raises questions about the competence of the governor's advisors.

Just as it was obvious — months in advance — that the Democrats would try to destroy the governor's ballot propositions through personal attacks on him, it was also glaringly obvious — at least to anyone with a feel for GOP politics — that the Kennedy appointment would ignite a Hiroshima-grade firestorm. Simply announcing the Kennedy-Aguire-Dunmoyer appointments jointly would have mitigated the damage significantly.

Some of these people make hundreds of thousands of dollars a year "advising" Arnold Schwarzenegger. He did not succeed in business and in Hollywood by tolerating incompetence in his associates. Your *Spectator* wonders why that lesson is lost on him now that he's in politics.

Always a "glass is half full" kind of optimist, I nonetheless find difficulty looking ahead to 2006 and seeing much besides continuing GOP discontent — spreading through *all* the four seasons.

— *A.P.C.*

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The Working Press

Skelton's advice heeded at last, but he still won't cheer

The GOP was just never quite Democrat enough; now Schwarzenegger is addressing that.

GEORGE NEUMAYR

LOS ANGELES TIMES columnist George Skelton has made a career out of instructing the California GOP to move leftward, so it is worth noting his reaction to Arnold Schwarzenegger's appointment of Susan Kennedy, one of the state's leading abortion proponents, a high-profile lesbian activist, and a former aide to many prominent California Democrats. Did Skelton cheer? No, he tacked to the middle. "There simply is no precedent — at least in any current political lifetime — for what Schwarzenegger did Wednesday. Appoint a hard-core, dedicated soldier from the enemy camp as his chief of staff. Not just an 'advisor' or 'counselor' — but his No. 1, his alter ego," Skelton wrote. He should have treated this development as the crowning achievement of his punditry at the *Los Angeles Times.*

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

Writing at Robert Scheer's online magazine *truthdig.com* in late November, former *Los Angeles Times* Book Review editor Steve Wasserman subjected his old paper to some stinging analysis. The paper, he writes, "finds itself beset by three separate if overlapping crises: The first is the general crisis of confidence confronted by the entire profession as it grapples with technological change that dramatically alters the way news is delivered; the second is the crisis occasioned by the consequences of the paper's acquisition by the Chicago-based Tribune Co., and the third is the crisis of identity caused by the changing demographics and political economy of its circulation area in Southern California, a region of some 18 million people that stretches from San Diego in the south to Santa Barbara in the north. These crises have combined to produce near-desperate measures on the part of the paper's owners and managers. The resulting spectacle is exemplary."

Wasserman continued: "The paper's management recently announced it would eliminate 8 percent of its editorial staff (some 85 positions), through a combination of buyouts and layoffs. This comes on the heels of years of steady downsizing. To be fair, not all of it is to be laid at the door of Tribune Co., the paper's current owner, which bought Times Mirror Co. for $8 billion five and a half years ago. The problems that plague the paper are well known. Ken Auletta in a recent report in *The New Yorker* offered a detailed and revealing look at how the paper's editors are seeking to meet its corporate owners' expectations. Tribune Co. insists that the paper deliver annual operating profit margins nearer 25 or 26 percent than its more customary return of around 15 or 16 percent. (Last year, according to Auletta, the paper reaped an operating profit margin of about 20 percent, a figure that failed to satisfy the Chicago moneymen.) The paper's top managers and editors are determined to do so or die trying. But before they expire, the paper they seek to resuscitate may well be reduced to a husk of its former self. The prospect is not pretty."

SPEAK FOR yourself, Mr. Wasserman. What exactly will be lost if younger readers tune the *Times* out? The truth is that younger readers find the *Times'* stale liberalism uncompelling and are turning to the Internet for more relevant offerings. Most *Times'* readers are aging liberals. The average age of a subscriber is now around 55. But *Los Angeles Times* editor Dean Baquet has been consoling his staff by saying that the problem of dropping circ is

George Neumayr is California Political Review's *press critic.*

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LEGISLATIVE FILE

by Ray Haynes

Governments are instituted among men, wrote Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration, to secure the peoples' inalienable rights, which means that protecting individual liberty is what legislators exist to do. Unfortunately, actual legislators tend to do the opposite, exercising power in strange, intrusive ways. Perverse people and unnatural actions merit perverse recognition: hence, the "Noseys" — my annual public notice of outstandingly stupid exercises of power during the past year in the California Legislature. So, getting right to the point, the 2005 Grand Nosey Award Winner is:

AB 1677 (Koretz) Correctional Condoms Act: This bill provides for the legalization and distribution of contraband in our state's correctional facilities by allowing any non-profit or health agency to distribute condoms and dental dams freely to inmates (just what *is* a dental dam?). This bill is the no-contest champion of 2005's crop in the let's pretend we're stupid so we can do the opposite of what we say we are doing category.

First, sex between inmates is a crime, so this bill says its purpose is to "prevent disease." The author assures us the bill isn't intended to encourage illegal sex acts between inmates. Well, then, all we have to do is pretend we're dumb enough to believe that and everything's OK, right?

The trouble is we know the left always and everywhere encourages unnatural sex, along with every other self-destructive behavior, because self-destructive people are easier to control, and power over people is their guiding ideal. Does anyone suppose Mr. Koretz would support free distribution to inmates of Biblical injuctions against perverse sex as the state's chosen way to "prevent desease" in prison? Put me down as a cynic if you like, but I do not.

Next we have the 2005 Nosey Award runners up: AB 651 (Berg, Levine) State Sponsored Suicide: Attaining the ultimate in self-destructiveness, this bill sought to provide a state sanctioned means of self-murder with the "help" of "health care" providers. One of the Manson family killers reportedly told one of those about to be stabbed to death that murder is an act of love, a sentiment this bill seems to have captured and would incorporate into state law. Charlie would be proud.

AB 616 (Vargas) "Cigar Envy": On the lighter (although no more air-headed) side, this bill sought to prohibit smoking in an outdoor area enclosed on four sides by a public building. Juan Vargas' willingness to have the taxpayers print a bill whose only function would have been to interrupt the relaxed atmosphere in the governor's signature cigar smoking tent illustrates perfectly the playground antics of an insulated Capitol establishment.

AB 17 (Koretz — yet again): criminalizing smoking at the beach, proving that no category of humanity can ever be down enough to prevent their being kicked one more time by lefties. Now we have no smoking indoors and no smoking outdoors. When smoking is outlawed, only outlaws will smoke.

And, inevitably, taxation — SB 607 (Bowen): Taxing Yard Sales — would you expect anything less from lawmakers who tried to pass a "soda tax" and force building codes to include the principles of "Feng Shui" (the positioning of objects based on patterns of yin and yang and the flow of chi)? And AB 1103 (Karnette) Tour de tax: The legislature has long tried to figure out how to tax kids. This year they did it. Tax bikes. Youngsters, welcome to a free society. CPR

CPR Contributing Editor Ray Haynes represents California's 66th Assembly District.

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industry-wide. "You all know that this is a rough year for newspapers," he told his reporters as he announced layoffs in December.

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The *Los Angeles Times* has been buffeted this year from the right, middle (if Michael Kinsley's pique is indicative), and left. Not even Barbra Streisand reads the paper anymore. She made a great show of blasting it for junking Robert Scheer's tired column. The *Times* ran a briefer version of a screed Streisand sent to the paper in which she announced she was abandoning it. "The greater Southern California community is one that not only proudly embraces its diversity but demands it," she wrote on her web site (where she posted the unedited letter). "Your publisher's decision to fire Robert Scheer is a great disservice .... I'm almost embarrassed for you in seeing the *LA Times* being referred to as the *'Chicago LA Times'* on the myriad of Internet sites I've visited in the last few days. It seems, however, an aptly designated epithet, representing the feeling among many of your readers that your new leadership, especially that of Jeff Johnson, is entirely out of touch with them and their desire to be exposed to views that stretch them beyond their own paradigms. So although the number of contributors to your op-ed pages may have increased, in firing Robert Sheer and putting Jonah Goldberg in his place, the gamut of voices has undeniably been diluted, and I suspect this may ultimately decrease the number of readers of those same pages."

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

Indeed, the "progressive" community is furious that the percentage of conservative commentators in its pages is inching up, hovering dangerously close to 30 percent according to some estimates on left-wing blogs. Scheer still knows how to organize a 1960s-style protest. By casting his sacking as a dark ideological betrayal, he is rousing the rabble. "What happened

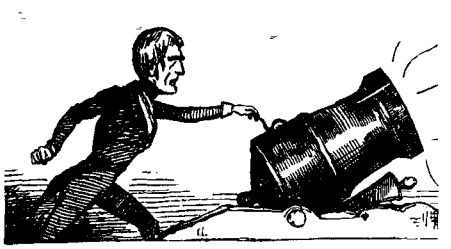
WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

By SAM PAREDES

California bought a Hollywood story line: the evil Everything's For Sale Davis horde had laid waste state finances, the townsfolk recruited a handy Action Hero looking for a new adventure to clean up the mess, lots of noisy fireworks ensued, the bad guys were trounced and the Hero firmly installed as sheriff. Cue credits, end music, and the cheering crowd departs glowing with "they all lived happily ever after" contentment.

But Sacramento isn't Hollywood. In politics, your reward for winning isn't peace, it's war redoubled. The Action Hero, still in celluloid mode, tried to make peace with the bad guys he'd just trounced, but said bad guys, ignoring the script, refused to stay trounced. Instead they laid long-term plans to recapture control of state politics. They understood what a lot of voters and the Action Hero did not: that holding office is merely step one; victory depends on follow through, perseverance, on knowing, as Thomas Jefferson said, that the price of freedom is eternal vigilance.

While the Hero set out to charm and woo and negotiate, his enemies accepted (without thanks) his peace offerings (like the nonsensical .50 BMG firearm ban), planned quietly their counter-attack, and awaited their chance. The fans, also still in celluloid mode, went along with this disappointing sequel mainly because they loved the original so much.



Then: the second sequel. Our Hero sees he is in deep kimchee. Rather than end California's financial woes, his bonds merely bail out the structural forces driving the state into the red. He tries half-heartedly (till nearly the end) to reignite the fire of the recall that his first sequel deliberately extinguished. The people, having lost track of the convoluted plot line, boo his Special Election showdown scene. Suddenly the Hero sees his reform movement has been "terminated"!

So what does a good action hero do after a flop? Change directors and create a new character. Enter Susan Kennedy who, unlike our Hero, has long known that Sacramento isn't Hollywood. And the people whose recall votes called for John Ford to direct? Alas, they end up with Michael Moore. CPR

Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.

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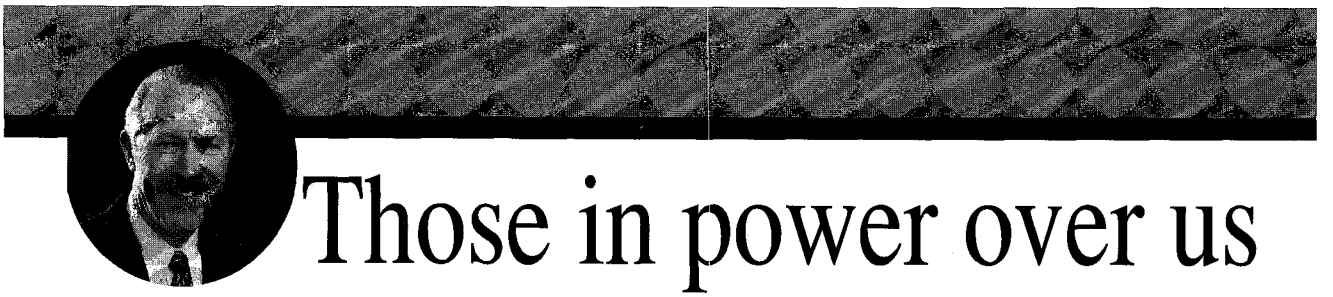
is that I had been the subject of vicious attacks by Bill O'Reilly and Rush Limbaugh .... I was a punching bag for those guys. I'm still standing, and the people who run the paper collapsed," he has said.

Scheer points to publisher Jeff Johnson as the biggest sellout: "The big issue here, I think, is that the publisher took over the editorial pages, a guy named Jeff Johnson. He's an accountant from Chicago, doesn't know anything about what newspapers are supposed to be about, and he made a decision to get rid of the column .... The publisher Jeff Johnson, who has offered not a word of explanation to me, has privately told people that he hated every word that I wrote. I assume that mostly refers to my exposing the lies used by President Bush to justify the invasion of Iraq."

Complicating this storyline is that at the time of Scheer's sacking the *Times* picked up two fierce lefties in Rosa Brooks, a law professor, and Erin Aubrey Kaplan, who used to write for the *Los Angeles Weekly*. But that's not good enough, say progressives, who see horrible omens in the presence of three nonliberal columnists on the page, *National Review's* Jonah Goldberg, *Weekly Standard* writer Max Boot, and The Hoover Institution's Niall Ferguson. CPR

The Los Angeles Times has been buffeted this year from the right, middle (if Michael Kinsley's pique is indicative), and left. Not even Barbra Streisand reads the paper anymore.



Those in power over us

Power tends to corrupt

And absolute power corrupts absolutely, as The Coastal Commission continues to demonstrate.

M. DAVID STIRLING

MY FRIEND, Assemblyman Ray Haynes, a frequent contributor to *CPR Online* (www.cppf.us — *California Political Review's* Internet publication), recently wrote a compelling piece on how the Legislative Analyst's rosy revenue predictions for the close of state budget year '05-'06 will lead the ultra-liberal legislative majority to return to the excessive, wasteful spending practices that caused historic budget deficits for the last five years. "Taxpayers," he writes in conclusion, "should fear surpluses, because that's when government grows, and deficits are created. Then again, they should fear deficits, because that is when government demands tax increases. Maybe taxpayers should just fear government."*

Ray's conclusion recalls a concern voiced by James Madison, the Constitution's leading champion and

**"The rosy scenario," http://www.cppf.us/OnlineOriginals/Columns/2005/11Nov05/112905RH.html*

Mr. Stirling is vice president of Pacific Legal Foundation (www.pacificlegal.org), the oldest and largest public interest legal organization in the country defending private property rights and challenging environmental extremism. Founded in 1973, Pacific Legal Foundation frequently goes to court to defend property owners from the persistent overreach of the California Coastal Commission. PLF is representing Dennis Schneider in his appeal of the unreasonable restrictions imposed by the CCC referenced in this article. Mr. Stirling, a former California legislator, judge, and chief deputy attorney general, can be reached at mds@pacificlegal.org

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major drafter of the Bill of Rights: "there are more instances of the abridgement of the freedom of the people," Madison warned, "by gradual and silent encroachments of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations." Without question, California's regulatory enforcement bureaucracy is the part of state government most inclined to abridge our individual and economic freedoms by "gradual, silent encroachments"; encroachments imposed individually over time and rarely noticed by our "watchdog" news media. An especially destructive part of that state enforcement bureaucracy is the California Coastal Commission.

* * *

DENNIS SCHNEIDER owns 41 acres of land on the Harmony coast of San Luis Obispo County, on which he obtained the County's approval to build a large single-family home and a barn. But the California Coastal Commission (CCC) overrode the county permit on grounds the proposed home and barn would be visible from the ocean, interfering with boaters', kayakers', surfers', and other recreational ocean users' public right to view the coast without the blight of human development. (Read that last sentence again just to be sure you grasped its full meaning.) As long-time CCC Executive Director Peter Douglas said, "Undeveloped shoreline is a very unique and valuable resource. It really makes a difference when you don't have clutter on the seaward slope of coastal hills."

In pursuit of its policy of making new homes on the coastal hills invisible to boaters, the CCC reduced the overall size of Mr. Schneider's proposed development by nearly 90 percent – cutting the home's size by 50 percent, rejecting the barn altogether, and moving the house from a viewpoint high on the hill to a low and obscured point on the opposite end of the property. Schneider sued the CCC, contending that its harsh and unreasonable restrictions amounted to a denial of his project, and that its policy to insure boaters a pristine view of coastal hillsides exceeded its authority.

The trial judge was clearly sympathetic to Mr. Schneider's proposal, describing it as a "beautifully designed residential project." Nor was he enamored with the numerous and severe modifications the CCC was requiring of Mr. Schneider, referring to them as like "being nibbled to death by ducks." Nevertheless, he ruled that the California Coastal Zone Conservation Act of 1972 did authorize the CCC to take such steps to protect boaters' views of the coastal hillsides, stating: "It is clear to the court that the beauty of a sunrise from a vantage point offshore is afforded the same protection as a sunset seen from land."

But the CCC's position is much more invasive of private property rights than the judge suggests. Taking the position that boaters — even floaters in cheap rubber rafts — should be able to view pristine coastal hills, the CCC is creating a never-before-recognized right in persons momentarily and freely occupying public ocean waters that is greater than the right of private property owners to the reasonable use of their property. And to enforce that right, the Commission is requiring that coastal property owners situate their homes so that their invaluable views of the ocean are virtually eliminated.

The CCC's Mr. Douglas attributes the Commission's official recognition of the boaters' right to a pristine view to "changing recreational use patterns and input from the boating community." But in Coastal Commission speak, "changing recreational use patterns" and "boating community" are code words for the CCC's favored type of boaters and recreational users – personal watercraft users of the envi-

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ronmentalist persuasion, such as the kayak instructor whose solicited testimony opposed Schneider's residential project at the hearing. "Most kayakers stay close to shore and are interested in exploring sea caves and watching marine wildlife, not seeing houses," she testified. "You go kayaking to get away from urban things. Your experience is changed by coastal development." Yet, if the truth be known, it is doubtful that the CCC received much, if any, unsolicited input from engine-driven boaters, weekend sailors, commercial fishermen, or cruise ship passengers, complaining about having to look at homes on the coastal hillsides.

The California Coastal Commission wields enormous power, even by government standards. In addition to the extraordinary authority the body's enabling legislation provides for the performance of a broadly-stated and open-ended mission, the statute further mandates that the Act shall be "liberally construed" to accomplish its purposes and objectives.

At the heart of this authority is the largely unrestrained and unaccountable flexibility the CCC, and especially its staff, have to establish and enforce policy. The primary reason the Coastal Commission can jerk around applicants like Dennis Schneider so easily and endlessly – and Schneider is just one of many – is that the CCC operates under highly flexible regulatory powers. Where other regulatory bodies are required to promulgate, take public comment on, and adopt detailed and binding "regulations," the CCC's "planning and regulatory decisions relative to the protection of coastal scenic resources are made *on a case-by-case basis.*" (author's emphasis.) As its executive director further acknowledges, "This approach allows the Commission and local governments carrying out local coastal programs [so much for San Luis Obispo County's approval of the Schneider project] to be adaptive as public needs, information, and circumstances change. This flexibility is a hallmark of California's coastal management program .... if the commission adopts a categorical or mandatory policy of general application on the subject it would need to go through the rule-making process and review by the Office of Administrative Laws resulting in the adoption of inflexible regulations."* Mr. Douglas glibly

**This passage appeared in a document designated: Memo re: "Protecting Views from the Ocean Under the Coastal Act," May 3, 2004, to Commissioners and Interested Persons, from Peter Douglas, executive director.*

The war against Christmas

posted November 29, 2005

The War Against Christmas seems to have picked up a couple of new recruits named George and Laura Bush.

I am one of X thousands of Americans who is on what used to be the president's Christmas Card list. As a result, a card from George and Laura arrived in my mail today. Needless to say I was pleased and honored. After opening it, I was — and am — also disappointed.

The card was not a Christmas card; it was a holiday card. It was lovely but it wasn't Christmas-y.

The front of the card is a replica of a painting by Jamie Wyeth. It is a scene of a snow-covered magnolia tree at the front of the White House with two small dogs and a cat in the foreground. Lovely!

Inside, there is no mention of Christmas. Instead it says, "With best wishes for a holiday season of hope and happiness. 2005" It is signed by George and Laura.

Above this, in small print is a quote from Psalm 28, verse 7.

Interestingly, the quote is from the Old Testament, with not even an allusion to Christ or Christmas or the reason Christians — which George and Laura are — celebrate the day.

One thing about that quote, however: it will offend hardly anyone except maybe a few atheists. At the very least it is acceptable to Christians, Jews, and maybe even Muslims. And isn't that what we want at this holiday season — not to offend anyone?

As for the First Couple's "best wishes for a holiday season of hope and happiness," that's nice, but where is Christmas? Maybe they'll send a Christmas card later, although I'm not betting on it.

What a shame that, apparently for political reasons, a president who professes to be a strong Christian turns his back on the celebration of his Savior's birth because he doesn't wish to offend anyone — except, maybe his fellow Christians.

Merry Christmas everyone.

— by Lyn Nofziger

Keep up with Lyn's "Musings" at:
www.lynnofziger.com/musings.htm

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captures the tyrannical arrogance of Louis XIV, couched in the impenetrable prose of an IRS bulletin. Translation: it's easier for us potentates to do as we please, when we please, than to worry about the trouble we cause other people; if you don't like it, lump it.

Rather than publicly adopt regulations that clearly inform an applicant relative to the location, size, color, shape, materials, and foliage allowed and required for a proposed building project, and upon which an applicant may specifically plan and reasonably rely, the CCC issues broadly worded "Policies" that it can and does selectively interpret and enforce "on a case-by-case basis." Its "boaters' view" policies are patently arbitrary visual standards with an environmentalist bias aimed at eliminating the view of housing as seen from the ocean. But because the enforcement of even arbitrary policies is to be "liberally construed," the courts rarely slap the CCC for exceeding its authority.

The planner class at every level of government, but particularly at the CCC, is advancing a pro-environmentalist agenda that "gradually and silently" is eroding the people's right to own and reasonably use private property. Allowing Dennis Schneider to build only a small house in a low area of his 41-acre hillside property overlooking the Pacific Ocean is not only unreasonable, but accomplishes no measurable advantage to coastal environmental preservation. It does, however, destroy his priceless view of the ocean and the economic feasibility of his project.

WHEN GOVERNMENT regulatory planners talk and behave more like commissars "placed in power over us" than public servants, dishonestly and scornfully referring to multimillion dollar, beautifully designed homes overlooking the Pacific Ocean as "clutter on the seaward slope of coastal hills," it's time the people recalled Madison's warning and moved to reverse the attempted further abridgement of our individual and economic freedoms. CPR

On campus

What's wrong with an Academic Bill of Rights

Ward Churchill-style bias must be fought, but not by posting the fox to guard the henhouse.

MICHAEL P. DAVIDSON

HISTORIAN VICTOR DAVID HANSEN wrote in *National Review* that the recent Ward Churchill episode was like a "torn scab revealing a festering sore beneath" — pretty gross imagery, yet what actually occurs on college campuses is worse than a festering sore and Ward Churchill worse than a torn scab. What to do, what to do?

For those of you who don't recall, Ward Churchill is the not-so-delightful University of Colorado, tax-paid professor who made headlines for writing and lecturing that, among other theories, the victims on September 11 deserved what they received. This professor not only believes it; he imposes it on his young students. He also turns out to be a liar, falsely claiming to be an American Indian. He might also be a plagiarist: early last year, a Colorado CBS-affiliate TV station reported that Churchill "may have broken copyright law by making a mirror image of an artist's work and selling it as his own." When the reporter, one Raj Chohan, attempted to ask the free-spirited professor about the charge, Churchill reportedly

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shouted "get that camera out of my face," and took a swing at Chohan. Later he said he had given the original artist credit when he first offered his copy for sale, but, as the station reported, "a closer examination of the Churchill piece revealed there is no credit given to the original artist. Churchill also refused to provide CBS4 with documentation that would prove his claims."

NATURALLY, WITH credentials like these, Churchill now commands top dollar on the college speaking tour. Such social-misfits fascinate American academia.

But they should neither fascinate nor mystify normally rational people. A lot of time could be wasted attempting to parse the logic of Churchill's daft statements about 9/11 and terrorism. But why do it? Since when have self-promoting flim-flam artists like Herr Churchill concerned themselves with logic? Like a Hollywood promo man, Churchill trots out whatever nonsense promises to titillate, outrage, bemuse, fascinate — anything likely to elicit any sort of strong reaction — not to make a point but to gain attention, to feel important, and to make money the way P.T. Barnum did, with himself as freak show exhibit A.

But neither should Churchill be dismissed and ignored or, rather, neither should we ignore what it says about our universities that they present him to the world as an "educator." Again, what to do? Like many conservatives, I am concerned about the anti-rational educational environment prevailing on too many major campuses and its impact on the future of our country. Millions of students struggle to learn in an environment of Churchillian poisoned air, and something *should* be done about it.

One idea, which I supported when I first heard of it, is an Academic Bill of Rights: legislation championed by David Horowitz, Ward Connerly, and other respected conservatives. The idea, essentially, is to bring balance to American public higher education by establishing a review process to consider bias complaints about teachers and by instituting fair hiring rules for professors, rules designed to eliminate political persuasion as an element in determining who becomes a teacher.

Thus far, various such proposals have appeared in 15 states and one is making its way through Congress as a resolution attached to an education bill. In California, the education code, in what is known as "The Leonard Law" (after its author, Board of Equalization member, and former legislator, Bill Leonard) prohibits both public *and* private colleges from making or enforcing any rule that would subject a student to disciplinary action for engaging in expression (on or off campus) that would be protected by the First Amendment or the California Constitution's free expression provision if it occurred off campus. This is clearly a different, though related, issue. Senator Bill Morrow proposed an Academic Bill of Rights-style law to combat academic bias that the Legislature's Democrat majority promptly shot down in committee. As I say, I initially liked the Bill of Rights idea and, when I was California College Republican chairman, we held an annual three-day convention themed around the Academic Bill of Rights. We even held a rally on the Capitol steps with a large cardboard tank to symbolize the power of academic bias. Then I received a phone call.

Steve Hinkle, a recent graduate of Cal Poly San Luis Obispo, wanted to discuss our efforts to pass or at least call attention to the Academic Bill of Rights. Steve is no stranger to leftist bias. His school tried to expel him for violating speech codes. He brought national media attention to the issue, sued his school, and later won. In other words, he's a conservative champion for academic freedom, but he opposes the Academic Bill of Rights.

Steve's argument — one with which I have come to agree — is that conservatives should oppose the idea for two reasons: one is that, as it has been proposed, it won't work, and, two, it violates our principles. As to objection one, the proposal would institute a committee of academic administrators to enforce or ensure academic fairness. OK — but what do we all know about academic administrators? They're leftist. How could they be expected to deter academic bias when they're responsible for it in the first place? Some individuals argue that, alternatively, a more directly state-run committee could be formed, but the same concern applies. The trouble with setting the fox to guard the henhouse is not just that he fails to guard it; it also puts him in a better position than ever to raid it. Even more, it reduces vigilance *against* him by creating a false sense of security among the hens, or at least their owners, who believe the danger has been met.

A SIMILAR SCENARIO would follow formation of any anti-bias committee including pro-bias members. In the end it would only embolden the very leftist academics we hope to restrain. It would provide cover for academic bias, making it more difficult to prove. Any abuses that passed committee muster would bear a stamp of approval, while the "process" gave conservatives a false sense of security. I can hear Churchill now, his idiot left-wing

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teaching having been legitimized by another left-wing committee, proclaiming even more loudly the glory of beating back the witch-hunting right-wing extremists.

And secondly, the idea won't work in practice because it doesn't work on principle. Conservatives know that running to the government to solve problems almost never works. Some conservatives say no free market mechanism exists to prevent leftist professors from indoctrinating the minds of America's youth. Pish Posh! Steve Hinkle proved that contention wrong. After he won, some colleges began *boasting* their "conservative credentials."

For another example, at Cal Berkeley, on an early anniversary of 9/11, the administration planned to mark the day by distributing flags. But feeling that American flags would be "offensive," they planned to distribute only white (surrender) flags. When the Berkeley College Republicans demanded that the Chancellor allow red, white, and blue ribbons to be distributed, they brought academic bias to the national stage and the wrath of an angry nation descended upon UC Berkeley. Alumni and trustees threatened to withhold funds from the university. The Chancellor backed down.

Conservatives should put their energies into working within the market of ideas rather than into an Academic Bill of Rights, which only puts an infected band-aid over a festering sore. Winning the battle of ideas is hard work, harder than passing a law and moving on. But if we quail at the thought of hard work, then we, certainly, are at least partly to blame if only one in 10 college professors are conservative. How about some specific alternative courses of action? Perhaps conservative organizations should come up with scholarships for conservative college students who want to be professors. Perhaps conservatives should increase their support for College Republicans who fight academic bias every day, helping to shape a generation in the process. Young America's Foundation, FIRE (the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education), the Heritage Foundation, the Collegiate Network, ISI (the Intercollegiate Studies Institute), and many other organizations support conservative youth and academic balance. Perhaps David Horowitz could form an organization that notifies alumni and school donors of academic bias and rallies them to oppose it. The *Wall Street Journal* is now ranking schools with academic balance as a measure. Solutions are out there, and they don't include government coercion.

Without doubt, academic bias should be fought. It can and must be fought successfully. But "the most terrifying words in the English language," Ronald Reagan reminded us, "are 'I'm from the government and I'm here to help.'" This fox is no friend of the hens, and his intended victims can defend themselves quite adequately on the basis of their true principles ... if they will only make the effort. CPR

Business Trends

Will the good economic news last?

Without restoration of the state's infrastructure, California's economy remains at risk.

WILLIAM E. SIMON, JR.

ECONOMIC SIGNS in California are improving. This is good overall for business in the immediate future (except that the Legislature's Democrat majority always seems to react to good economic news like a bull seeing a red cape: charging at full speed into another spending spree). However, the state's long-term business outlook is less

2002 Republican nominee for California governor, William E. Simon, Jr., serves as co-chairman of William E. Simon & Sons, a private investment firm and merchant bank, of the William E. Simon Foundation, and of the Cynthia L. and William E. Simon, Jr., Foundation.

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rosy, if, that is, we continue to do little to restore California's capital infrastructure. The Golden State's prospects for sustaining the gains business makes in the improving short term will disappear unless we recognize that our roads, schools, hospitals, government offices, police and fire stations, and water and power facilities are not only in disrepair and must be upgraded, but also should be extensively expanded. Running for governor in 2002, I made California's deteriorating infrastructure a signature issue. I am heartened the governor is seriously interested in coming to terms with it.

Infrastructure restoration and expansion is by all estimates the single largest issue facing the Golden State — the investment requirement is immense and practically immeasurable — yet it is also an issue that enjoys bipartisan support because all California residents are impacted by congested freeways, crowded schools, and high costs for water and electricity. California desperately needs large-scale infrastructure investment to cope with current and projected population growth. Many possible projects come to mind: new roads, water storage facilities, power generation and distribution plants, port upgrades, airport expansions, and more. The questions are: where and how to begin.

We've seen much debate in recent weeks over financing the projects. The state's structural deficit denies us the ability to float general obligation bonds in excess of $50 billion unless new revenue streams are found. Furthermore, legislative Republicans rightly will not support a tax increase nor will the Democrats support cuts in other programs like K-14 education.

The most likely financing solution will be the issuance of a smaller level of borrowing in combination with user fees and public/private partnerships touted by organizations like the Reason Foundation, in which companies put up the necessary capital in return for a percentage of the revenue derived from the project (toll roads, for example). Along those lines, the California Business Roundtable also recommends:

- Prioritization of capital facilities needs through the approval of a state capital facilities plan;
- Expansion of the California Infrastructure and Economic Development Bank;
- Transportation projects that reduce congestion and include toll roads, contracting out, and developer funding where appropriate;
- Development of a "pay as you go" funding source for infrastructure projects;
- Prudent use of state general obligation bonds as a major funding source for public facilities needs.

I am confident that, as has already happened in more than 20 other states, California in partnership with the private sector can find innovative methods to fund necessary infrastructure projects without unduly burdening taxpayers or those needing social services.

No matter how the projects are financed, Californians should be assured that there will be a significant payoff if they are properly managed. While it will be an enormous undertaking, there can be no debate that infrastructure construction will benefit the state and national economies. The projects themselves will create thousands of new jobs and employ tens of thousands of construction workers, engineers, and architects. There are many reasons to rebuild California, but paramount among them is that the state's infrastructure — never a glamorous topic — nevertheless serves as the foundation for the state's economy. Infrastructure improvements would stimulate the state economy and increase tax revenues. In fact, a compelling case can be made that these much-needed infrastructure projects will eventually pay for themselves in the long run. What's the guarantee? Although such estimates are certainly difficult to quantify, we can look to history for some insight.

The 20-mile Alameda Corridor linking the ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach to the transcontinental rail network near downtown Los Angeles was funded by a combination of public and private partnerships. The $2.4 billion project was completed in 2002 and now allows for the direct rail transport of goods without negative environmental effects or exacerbating traffic along the northerly route. It also expedites the flow of goods. Other benefits of the project include:

- Allowed for more efficient freight rail movements;
- Reduced traffic congestion by eliminating at-grade crossings on surface streets and the need for trucks to travel on the 110 freeway;
- Improved Alameda Street;
- Multiple community beautification projects;
- Cut train emissions;
- Slashed delays at railroad crossings;
- Cut noise pollution from trains;
- Reduced emissions from idling autos and trucks;

And can you imagine a California without its uni-

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versities, colleges, freeways, aqueducts, or the Golden Gate Bridge — itself a symbol of California's grandeur? Where would we be without the water provided by the Hoover Dam? Seventy years hence, California and other western states are still enjoying the benefits from the massive Hoover Dam project.

In the area of transportation alone, according to a study commissioned by the California Infrastructure Coalition, "California's $2 trillion transportation infrastructure system is the prime ingredient in the fuel that fires the state's economic engine. Investment in transportation brings jobs to California and encourages vital business investment, which creates permanent economic benefit to the state."

The large projects will take time. While some can be finished in a matter of years, such as the resurfacing of existing freeways, others might take decades. As California continues to grow, adding 16 million more people by 2025, many problems with which we are all too familiar will grow worse if the state's infrastructure is not modernized. When the projects near completion the population will enjoy less traffic, cheaper and more plentiful water and power, better hospital and school facilities, and improved fire, police, and government services. The bottom line is that Californians will be more productive, prosperous, and safe with a revitalized infrastructure.

I want to allay the concerns of the skeptics who say we're headed for another government boondoggle. Boston's notorious Big Dig, an engineering and architectural achievement now mostly completed and alleviating traffic congestion, is also a model of what not to do because local, state, and federal taxpayers were left holding a bill that blew up from the original $2.5 billion to more than $14 billion because of cost overruns. Improper oversight gave some companies the incentive to cut corners and make fraudulent charges. We can ensure that this does not happen here.

Historically, the condition of a civilization's infrastructure has been an indication of its health. Presently, our "House of California," if you will, is in shambles. We can no longer stick our heads in the sand and hope the problem will go away on its own. We know what that approach has done for us. We are only as good as our infrastructure allows us to be. The problem must become our number one priority. Generations of Californians before us (with the notable leadership of Governor Pat Brown) built a complex network of freeways, ports, and airports to help the state's burgeoning economy. Today, we must rededicate ourselves to their commitment and continue their legacy. CPR

The Law

California high court hears Berkeley Scout-bashing case

A city once known to champion 'free speech' now leads the assault on the First Amendment.

HAROLD JOHNSON

BY THE time you read this, the California Supreme Court will (on January 10, if current scheduling is followed) have heard oral argument in the case *Evans v. Berkeley* (104 Cal.App.4th 1 [2002]), so a major new chapter could soon be written on the left's continuing anti-Boy Scout *jihad.* It seems therefore an opportune time to re-visit the key issues I discussed in my "The Law" column early last year (*CPR,* March/April 2005).

One key issue is simple fairness. What if, for instance, a city charged members of the Green Party to use a city facility, but let Democrats and Republicans in free? That isn't far different from the double stan-

CPR *Contributing Editor Harold Johnson, an attorney with the Pacific Legal Foundation in Sacramento, represents one of the Sea Scout petitioners in* Evans v. Berkeley.

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dard at the Berkeley Marina. The city has imposed a use fee on the Berkeley Sea Scouts, but not on any other nonprofits. The Sea Scouts are singled out because of what city officials consider their "incorrect" views and associations, specifically their affiliation with the Boy Scouts of America. The controversy centers on a Berkeley program that lets nonprofit organizations use the marina free of charge. A yacht club takes advantage of the offer, as do some community groups. But the city excludes the Sea Scouts.

ASIDE FROM the legal questions that this raises, there's a cost in human terms. The Sea Scouts' skipper, a Bay Area high school teacher, has to pay the monthly berthing fee of more than $500 out of his pocket. This means he can't pay for outings for some of the less-well-off kids, and programs have been substantially cut back.

Unfortunately, the California First District Court of Appeal approved this biased policy in its *Evans v. Berkeley* ruling. The hope now is that fairness will ultimately prevail in the state Supreme Court on the Sea Scouts' appeal of that decision.

For decades, the Sea Scouts used the marina without cost as a reward for the good work they do with young people. The Berkeley Sea Scouts are part of a larger Sea Scout tradition that dates back to the first half of the 20th century. Nationwide, the Sea Scouts have taught leadership and responsibility to hundreds of thousands of teen-agers over the years. Along with sailing skills, participants learn carpentry and plumbing by working on ships.

Character development is also part of the experience. In World War II, Admiral Chester Nimitz said the 100,000 Sea Scouts who had enlisted after Pearl Harbor were crucial to the Navy's victories in the Pacific. The 20 or so teen-agers in the Berkeley Sea Scout program are a multiracial group, several of them from rough neighborhoods around the Bay Area. Because of the funding problems created by the fee, some of the scouts have had to drop out.

In 1998, however, the Berkeley City Council decided that all the Sea Scouts' pluses were outweighed by their offense of being affiliated with the Boy Scouts. The council instituted the new berth fee as, in essence, a fine. Berkeley objects to Boy Scout membership policies that require belief in a deity and bar adult male homosexuals from volunteer leadership positions. Berkeley's Sea Scouts, however, have never excluded any kid from their group. They even signed a statement pledging to abide by all city anti-discrimination rules and regs.

If Berkeley can charge the Sea Scouts for acting on their constitutional rights, the city could penalize all manner of private organizations that failed ideological tests.

That wasn't good enough for city officials. "It's not a question of the Sea Scouts as an individual people or as a group," Councilman Kriss Worthington told an interviewer. "It's the Sea Scouts' affiliation with the discriminatory Boy Scouts of America. If the Sea Scouts were separate and not a part of a discriminatory group, then they would be sitting pretty."

The question before the state Supreme Court: Does the Constitution allow Berkeley to penalize the Sea Scouts' for exercising their First Amendment right to associate with the Boy Scouts of America? Requiring the Sea Scouts to pay a fee that isn't imposed on other nonprofit groups clearly has that effect — it amounts to retaliating against activity and expression that is protected by the First Amendment.

It's also a case of ideological discrimination by government — impermissible under the First Amendment. As the Supreme Court said in *Rosenberger v. Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia,* 515 U.S. 819 (1984), if government decides to offer a subsidy of some kind, it cannot "pick and choose recipients on the basis of their viewpoint."

If Berkeley can get away with charging the Sea Scouts for their acting on their constitutional rights, the city would be free to penalize all manner of private organizations that failed ideological tests. Churches, synagogues, and other religious groups could also find themselves facing official discrimination. The Sea Scouts aren't saying they have a right to financial assistance from government. They're saying Berkeley has a constitutional obligation not to play favorites according to politicians' ideology, and not to condition access to public programs on a recipient's agreement to mind-meld with bureaucrat group think.

IT MAY seem long ago, but Berkeley was once the birthplace of something called the free speech movement. If the California Supreme Court halts Berkeley's Scout-bashing, it will help free the city of the stigma it now bears as an enemy of all the freedoms the First Amendment protects. CPR

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A Party with the Courage of No Convictions?

Where the New Post-Special Schwarzenegger would take the GOP ... and the course the Party ought to chart.

by John Kurzweil

> If a Tory does not believe that private property is one of the main bulwarks of individual freedom, then he had better become a socialist and have done with it. Indeed one of the reasons for our electoral failure is that people believe too many Conservatives have become socialists already. Britain's progress towards socialism has been an alternation of two steps forward with half a step back.
>
> If every Labour Government is prepared to reverse every Tory measure, while Conservative Governments accept nearly all socialist measures as being "the will of the people," the end result is only too plain. And why should anyone support a party that seems to have the courage of no convictions?"
>
> — Margaret Thatcher, "My Kind of Tory Party," *Daily Telegraph*, January 30, 1975

MRS. THATCHER wrote these lines at the end of a 12-month period during which her Party suffered two devastating losses in national elections. A few days after her article appeared, she was elected Conservative Party leader. Four years later she became British Prime Minister, matching the Reagan Revolution with one of her own across the Atlantic.

John Kurzweil is CPR's *editor.*

One year after Mrs. Thatcher wrote her *Daily Telegraph* article, Republican Gerald Ford lost the presidency to Jimmy Carter. Looking back (in a 1992 article), William E. Brock, who served as Republican National Committee Chairman from 1977 until 1981, recalled the condition of his Party following that defeat, making a point notably reminiscent of Mrs. Thatcher's: "Republicans in 1976 ... found themselves stung by defeat and *largely bereft of those tools essential to any successful party, a strong grounding in principles and ideas, and a broad and diverse base of support.*" *(emphasis added)*

Brock went on to re-build the national GOP (with a mighty assist from Ronald Reagan, Jack Kemp, and many others) into what even liberal Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan had to admit a mere few years later had become "the Party of ideas" — not to mention the Party that controlled the White House, setting the nation's political direction, for the next 12 years. (Brock wrote in 1992 because his Party had just lost another presidential election — to Bill Clinton — following another loss of direction, as Brock saw it, under President George H. W. Bush.)

Here in California, it is time to state Thatch-

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er's and Brock's essential truths again in the wake of last year's Special Election fiasco and, perhaps even more so, following Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger's 2006 State of the State speech calling for massive borrowing, praising steeply spiraling education spending, and, of all things (from a one-time disciple of Nobel economist and *Free to Choose* author Milton Friedman) *a minimum wage hike!* — "so," as the governor put it, "those who often work the hardest and earn the least ... [will] benefit from California's growth" — a justification, Mr. Friedman would gladly explain, that turns reality on its head: wage controls hurt, first and foremost, precisely "those who often work the hardest and earn the least" by throwing them *out* of work, depriving them of a chance to learn to be more productive workers capable of commanding a "living wage," and forcing them to pay higher prices for everyday goods and services.*

IT IS TIME to re-state Thatcher's and Brock's essential truths because, when reverses like those suffered by Britain's Tories in 1974 and American Republicans in 1976 are suffered by the California GOP, the default reaction has come to be: our principles are no good, they don't "resonate" with voters, we must find out what people want to hear and parrot it back to them while nominating candidates on the principle that the more muddled their convictions the better; that our ideal candidate is someone rich, popular, and politically slippery enough to seem to be all things to all people. Of course, part of this reaction comes from the RINO species of Republicans who, as Mrs. Thatcher said, have become socialists already and who jump at any chance to urge their Party to follow the left-wing path they themselves chose long ago, but I am not concerned with these folks here. I wish them well, although I confess a preference that they would oppose the GOP's defining convictions from the more natural position of registered Democrat.

I *am* writing to the vast majority of Republicans who genuinely believe their Party's principles are not only the best but the only prescription for a good and prosperous life for ordinary Californians, but who doubt their Party can "win" running on its own true positions — as if the defeats suffered by Dan Lungren, Bill Simon, and George W. Bush (in California), along with Arnold Schwarzenegger's Special Election blow-out, had all followed campaigns that were models not only of consistent adherence to principle but also of thorough, competent, expertly-executed electioneering; as if these defeats could therefore confidently be chalked up to a GOP message "too conservative" for "liberal" California. The truth about these campaigns is, first, that the principles were not always discernible — least of all in Lungren's case — and that, second, what particularly characterized them all, running like a bright, gleaming thread throughout, is an ad hoc, seat-of-the-pants, cook book (pick your cliché) approach. They showed little imagination, scant attention to the blocking and tackling basics of politics, and less a determination to win than to insure that the hired gun consultants pocketed princely fees for jobs superficially done. Most seem to have been conducted without so much as the rudimentary market research on *how* to convey our positions and showcase our candidates to their best advantage that any competently-run business would perform before launching an even moderately ambitious new project.

California Republicans have spent most of the past decade trying to bring about a revolutionary

* Friedman, on the minimum wage, wrote: "The high rate of unemployment among teenagers, and especially black teenagers, is both a scandal and a serious source of social unrest. Yet it is largely a result of minimum wage laws. *We regard the minimum wage law as one of the most, if not the most, anti-black laws on the statute books." (emphasis added)* Schwarzenegger himself, in a September 2003 *Wall Street Journal* op-ed, wrote that "Mr. Davis says he wants jobs, but he has done everything possible to chase away job creators. Thanks to the economic policies of this administration, for the first time in California history, more native-born Americans are leaving this state than are moving here. No one would confuse the destructive economic policies of Gov. Davis and Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante with the pro-growth ideas of Milton Friedman or Adam Smith." The last California governor to increase the state's controlled wage level was Gray Davis, in 2002.

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reversal of direction in the political culture of one of the world's most powerful and influential political entities with less clear thinking, research, preparation, and attention to detail in execution — and, indeed, with little evidence even of realizing the magnitude of the job they have undertaken — than one typical small businessman would employ in opening a single hamburger stand. This Republican approach might somehow prove adequate if the opposition were similarly trifling, but not when the other side is willing and able to spend and to do whatever it takes to win, as California Democrats have repeatedly shown themselves to be.

NO DOUBT this judgment is overly harsh in many specific cases that could be adduced from the various campaigns I listed above, which employed the professional and volunteer services of many hard-working, dedicated, competent people. I respect these folks and their efforts without reservation. But the fact remains that the overall planning and execution of these GOP campaigns, perhaps most spectacularly of all in last year's Special Election, conformed to the pattern I have described. Let me offer two examples in evidence from the Special.

First: a luncheon I attended a few weeks after the November voting featured a Republican, California-based, veteran political strategist as speaker. He had had no official or consulting role in the governor's campaign, but described what had happened. Discussing Proposition 75 (Paycheck Protection), for instance, he mentioned research he'd done the last time Californians had voted on the issue (Proposition 226, in 1998) pointing out several enlightening discoveries he had made. First, he said, the opposition hit pay dirt with their argument that 75 was "unfair" and "unbalanced" because it applied only to unions and not to corporations that use shareholder funds to finance political efforts — a charge that I confess struck me when I first heard it as a desperate reach, the cases being by no means comparable. In fact, however, it inflicted significant damage to 75 with many voters. Why?

His seven-year-old research, the speaker said, had shown that a lot of Californians — prominently including, I presume, the dreaded "swing" voters who make up their minds how they'll vote at the last minute, often based on the most superficial or irrelevant reasons — start off suspicious of "political reform" measures championed by one party and opposed by the other, no matter their non-partisan "good government"

An individual not even part of the campaign appeared clearly to know far more about what it would take to win or lose than did the high-paid experts the governor employed.

pretensions. In that context, he continued, they simply do not believe that Republicans really care about union members or their right to decide for themselves about the political uses of their pay (which deflates what had always seemed to me an effective descriptive: paycheck protection). Given this foundation, when they *then* hear that the idea is to target a Democrat funding source (unions) while leaving alone what these same swing voters quaintly believe is a Republican funding source (corporate America), they conclude it must be a GOP stealth attempt to rope unsuspecting voters into a sleazy partisan hit on the opposition, made worse by what seems to be a false appeal to simple fairness. They vote "no," even though they actually agree with the policy change the initiative would bring about.

Yes, it's perfectly awful reasoning, but you might as well curse the darkness. Anyway, what most struck me about the presentation at this luncheon was that an individual not even part of the campaign appeared clearly to know far more about what it would take to win or lose than did the high-paid experts the governor employed to

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work for a year or more on the sole job of bringing home a victory. That seven-year-old research could so easily expose a critical failure to understand the "market" on this issue indicates an overall lack of seriousness about victory.

This conclusion is verified further, first, by the campaign's blasé assumption that a year of ubiquitous Schwarzenegger-bashing could be undone with a few weeks, or even days, of furious campaigning by the governor at the end and, second, by Schwarzenegger operatives' assurances to interested Republican leaders and activists during the final weeks before the vote that their "internal polling" showed several propositions winning, despite the near-universal finding of California's *public* polls that all were in deep trouble, a conclusion vindicated by events (and repeating a public vs. "internal" polling story line featured in the Lungren campaign and, if memory serves, in the Bush and Simon efforts as well).

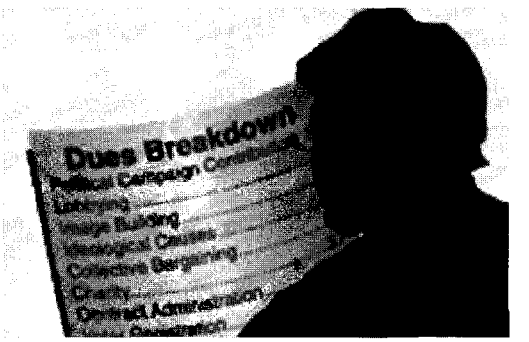
If further evidence is needed, I quote my colleague William E. Saracino from this magazine's most recent issue ("Role Model," *CPR*, Nov./Dec. 2005):

> A high-level Team Schwarzenegger strategist recently allowed that the governor's people, possibly to their surprise, discovered "about two months ago" that Proposition 73 — parental notification — "would drive [special election] turn-out our way." Consequently, people and resources have the past several weeks been diverted to bolster what had been the neglected cause of Prop. 73's passage. OK, except that most conservative activists had figured this out, and were talking about it widely, at least as early as late [2004]. Why did the cadre of top GOP campaign professionals take until late summer to get it? Part of the reason is that there remains among many of these professionals a still strong, though (one hopes) fading, anti-conservative grass roots animus left over from the Pete Wilson era. At best, they simply are not in the habit of taking rank and file Republican conservatives seriously and so tend not to think about how these people — their own Party's base voters, for crying out loud — can help even in the most obvious circumstances.

The relevance is clear on this point of William Brock's warning about parties that lack "a broad and diverse base of support." If union member Democrats don't let their many differences with social issue lefties (and other Donkey Party factions) blind them to the advantages of cooperative effort, perhaps "big tent" Republican moderates could learn to do the same.

ALL RIGHT, this is no time for intra-Party score settling. Actually, the last several years have seen a much-reduced amount of GOP infighting at the Party level over issues *and* a strong revival, particularly in county Parties, of "command focus," to borrow Lee Atwater's apt phrase, on nuts-and-bolts organizing, voter registration, fund raising, and GOTV. Those are the party structures' jobs; Party members only play into their opponents' hands when they allow issue disputes to distract from this crucial mission.

But outlining clear positions on issues — which, really, means spelling out an overall policy direction for the state — is exactly the mission of Republican candidates, campaigns, and issue organizations. *Their* sole purpose is, one, to win public support for the direction Republicans propose to lead California and then, two, to employ the power entrusted to the Party's candidates by the voters actually to *move* the state in that direction as expeditiously as possible. You can't do that by adopting either a muddled message, no message at all, or, despite presenting a clear *rhetorical* message, in fact meandering all over the issue spectrum in the policies you embrace in office — as the governor has commenced doing.



The GOP renaissance Bill Brock described began by acknowledging this order of priority: laying out and pursuing a clear policy direction comes first, and all the specific message formulation and delivery, all the organizational work, and all the picking of candidates must serve that

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primary goal. A party "that seems to have the courage of no convictions" obviously can't lead anyone anywhere. Indeed, it soon becomes embroiled in absurd soul searching about its own reason for being: Is it merely to win offices, no matter what our office holders do with them? A yes answer to that question leads into the trackless desert of finding "a message that resonates with voters." It issues in preposterous calls for minimum wage hikes to placate the very unions sworn to block every policy initiative supported by the Republican rank and file. It hoodwinks Party leaders into stiff-arming the voters who rely upon the GOP to save them from a rapacious, self-destructive state government establishment.

Cruz Bustamante

It invites and, in the case of the California GOP, has brought on an absurd domination over most political activity by a consultant culture that exists not nearly as much to win elections or influence state policy as to maintain (at princely pay levels) a cadre of campaign "experts." A weak attachment to governing principles encourages a species of bureaucratic mentality among political professionals. Why work hard to serve a vague, shifting notion of where the state should go? Why put in the long hours fighting an entrenched power structure when an alternative structure has not been defined, much less shown to be better? Why not just go through the motions? Why not just collect the handsome paychecks or consulting fees and enjoy the perks and comforts of office and leave the heavy lifting to those who remember what the lifting is all about? Taken all together, failure of principle is a formula for Party irrelevancy and, if indulged long enough, demise.

For a Party caught in such a downward spiral, the only solution is to recall and reaffirm the principles that brought about its creation in the first place. Once "the courage of *real* convictions" is restored, what seemed daunting doubts about how to proceed fade away. Tough jobs remain, but clear understanding of purpose and resolution to get those jobs done replace the doubts and the flabby inability to act.

Brock's 1992 article spelled out how the Party got moving between 1977 and 1980:

> As we looked at a prospective Republican agenda ... it became abundantly clear that economic troubles offered a wonderful opportunity for political resurgence. Bill Steiger of Wisconsin, one of our brightest young congressmen, had campaigned for nearly a decade to roll back the demagogic doubling of the capital gains tax. Even the most myopic of liberals had trouble explaining the punitive capital gains tax, and the nation was generally chafing under the burden of taxes across the board. Here was a chance to rally our Party, and the country, around a cause that was both economically and politically sound.

For a Party caught in such a downward spiral, the only solution is to recall and reaffirm the principles that brought about its creation in the first place.

In California, the Democrat establishment presents a similarly target-rich opportunity. If the governor's 39 percent approval rating makes him vulnerable, how much more vulnerable are the Democrats who dominate the Legislature and whose level of approval hovers around 20 percent? Don't forget, on recall day in October 2003, Republicans Arnold Schwarzenegger and Tom McClintock, having staked out a clear policy direction for the state, racked up a 62.1 to 31.5 percent victory over Cruz Bustamante. Bustamante, a Democrat for once running on an honest platform (*i.e.*, one accurately reflecting his Party's liberal policy goals), won the lowest share for a Democrat gubernatorial candidate in 71 years, a showing that dwindled to only 26 percent outside the Bay Area. He won pluralities in seven counties, all Bay Area, with a majority only in San Francisco. His totals in many large counties barely rose above third party levels: 17

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percent in Orange and Placer, 18 in Kern, 21 in both Riverside and San Bernardino, 24 in San Diego.

Not surprisingly, his Party must resort to extorting involuntary political funding and to gerrymandered districts (as, nationally, it relies on unelected, dictatorial judges) to hold power and shape policy. California Democrats' strength is in organization and determination to do whatever it takes to win, not in public support for their policies.

William Brock's Republicans took the fight to the people, using issues to show the superiority of Republican ideas. As Brock wrote in the article I have been quoting:

> With the instigation of Jack Kemp, we put together what we called a "tax blitz." A planeload of Republicans with solid economic credentials criss-crossed the country, visiting with reporters and editors and articulating the Republican commitment to a major reduction in tax rates.
>
> It is important to note that this was not a public relations exercise. We were attempting to lay claim to a set of principles that would define a political program and, in turn, galvanize a flagging party ....
>
> We initiated publications like the quarterly *Common Sense*, which served as a forum for serious debate. And we recruited more than a thousand of our most talented members for service on task forces whose purpose was to define a policy on issues ranging from South African apartheid to energy conservation.

Republicans win when they take their case in this way to the people; arguing with creative enthusiasm, genuine conviction that their cause is right, and respect for voters' intelligence. In 1998, California-based Republican political strategist Arnold Steinberg showed the power of such an approach in an educational advertising campaign in Washington state. Steinberg's effort was designed to complement (while remaining independent of) the political campaign for an initiative, I-200, similar to Ward Connerly's California Civil Rights Initiative that prohibits race and gender preferences for government hiring, contracting, and education. In an article on the campaign, Steinberg wrote:

> The $560,000 educational advertising "flights" included three 60-second radio commercials and one 30-second television commercial. Unlike political advertising, this educational advertising imparted information but did not implore people to support or oppose the measure.
>
> The theme of the ads was "Understanding I-200" ....
>
> The goal was to present a simple, believable message, and since the spots were educational, I wanted them to look and sound educational. Educational, moreover, does not have mean bland. The spots were creative and attention-getting. They sought to hook the listener or viewer at the beginning and to keep that person's interest. But they also were dignified, with understated scripts.

THEY SUCCEEDED. Despite I-200s proponents having been, as usual, massively out-spent, the measure breezed to passage with 58 percent support, taking 38 of Washington's 39 counties. This occurred, moreover, in a year Washington Republicans were losing control of both houses of the Legislature and the state's congressional delegation.

Ward Connerly

The thoughtful, successful approach to politics of this educational campaign is polls apart from the massively expensive but still somehow seemingly thrown-together, uninspired, cookbook, losing efforts we see routinely in California.

It represents, first, an understanding that moving policy in our direction is goal one, that that alone defines victory, and, second, that successful campaigning requires creative energy and flexibility harnessed to a firm determination to accept no substitute for victory. Californians serious about salvaging their state from the special interest predators still controlling Sacramento, take note.

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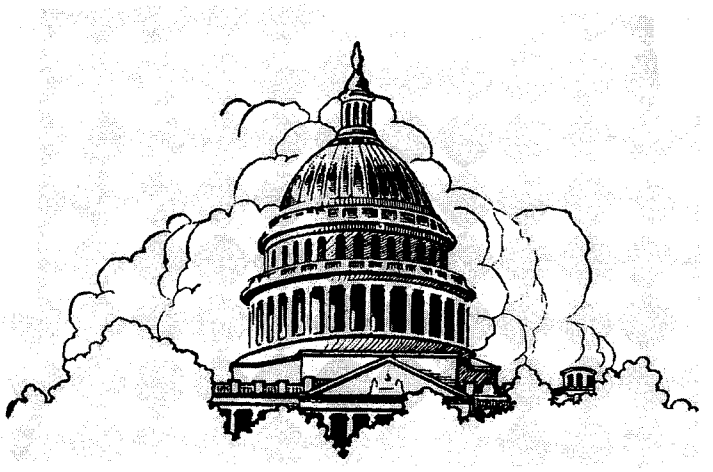

What is Wrong with Washington?

Bruce L. Bialosky

I have the occasion to go to Washington, D.C., about four times a year. Since I have been doing this for a while and have been involved with Republican politics for more than a quarter century, I now have a small bit of sway. With this advantage, my most recent trip offered me the opportunity to understand what is wrong with Washington.

When I go to Washington, I now plan meetings one-on-one with elected officials or elected wannabes. My trips are filled with meetings in between my meetings. I rarely carry a message other than: I am here to help, so please let me know how you

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Bruce L. Bialosky has written on public policy and worked in Republican grassroots politics for 25 years.

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would like me to do so. This time I took a message back: that we had gone off message. Yes, we have the big picture on the War on Terror. The president continues to stay focused on that. Mr. Bush should know that Churchill would be proud of him.

Two issues

But Washington should confront two issues that are infuriating the base. They are immigration and the lack of spending controls. As Californians, we all have angst over these issues and I took my opportunity to discuss that with everyone I could. That included three congressmen, a candidate for the U.S. Senate, and a potential candidate for president in 2008.

The candidates expressed clarity on the issues, but the message was a little different from the congressmen. They are the ones who can and should act, but I am not sure they have the focus. On the issue of illegal immigration it is clear we must take some action or a smart Democrat (like Hillary) will try to steal this issue. As for the exorbitant spending, one congressman blamed the budget on the president, but the next one I saw said he was wrong and reminded us all who is generating the expenditures: Congress.

I brought up the budget issue with a friend on the domestic policy staff and he assured me their proposed budget would hold the line in the next year. So I made my feelings clear with the belief that if they continue to hear about our concerns they may actually act on them.

But then reality set in. I ran into a lady I know who was recently appointed head of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). I congratulated her and told her I hoped she was the last. She smiled and laughed.

That night I saw her again at the White House Hanukkah Party. While standing in a group near her, I mentioned what I felt about the CPB to a friend. My friend, who will remain nameless to protect the guilty, was surprised at my attitude. He even expressed the thought that I was showing a surprising level of naiveté. He reminded me that he had been in Washington for 15 years and knows better. He said the issue was a loser. "We have bigger issues to deal with," he said. "It is only $100,000,000." And to put the proverbial icing on the cake, he asked "Why do you want to kill Elmo?"

I guess I should not be shocked. We have all heard such thoughts, but to hear it from a staunch Republican really makes you want to retch.

It may just be me, but I cannot think of a more useless expenditure in the federal government than supporting both PBS and NPR. First, they both have news services. Doesn't anyone see a problem with government funding two of our major news services? Probably not at this time because neither service appears to agree with anything this administration does. But what about the last administration — they sounded like a service Fidel Castro would have been proud to possess.

We would be spared the national debate about the past chairman of CPB trying to influence the corporation's programming to include more conservative content if we cut these services loose. In addition, I know a reporter who is writing a book about the nefarious nature of broadcasts on NPR. I have heard them and I assure you, you don't want your tax dollars paying for that. And don't they have Air America now?

Lame argument

In what way have these organizations not outlived their usefulness? If they can survive in the marketplace then they should be allowed to do so. The only lame argument they ever had was that the programming they present would never have been shown anywhere else. With our current array of more than two hundred channels everything else gets on the air. Who would have thought a "Home and Garden" channel would make it? Well, it does and is highly profitable. I feel comfortable Elmo would find a home somewhere out of the U.S. government pig trough.

This is the point in the article where the wise author tells you the solution to the problem. Well, I don't have one. I guess we could yank them all out of D.C., but that would have to mean yanking all the staffers and lobbyists also. You know that is not going to happen.

I guess I wrote this article just to complain. After all, our own people who should know better have become as problematic as the opposition. After all, it is only $100,000,000. CPR

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A most uncivil war

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America.

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. — We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. — That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object

H.L. Richardson & John Kurzweil

Critics of Judge Samuel Alito's U.S. Supreme Court nomination argue that America is by its nature and at its very core "diverse," that this principle of diversity is shown by our historical devotion to individual freedom and by our population of immigrants who arrived here from every nation on earth. These critics say Judge Alito represents an alien impulse to impose a dreary, dictatorial sameness on our country, completely contrary to our natural character as Americans.

There is a superficial validity to this contention. When asked about our common origin, Americans sometimes joke about it, commenting that our citizenry is "like Heinz's soup, comprised of 57 different varieties." It is true that the bulk of Americans can trace their ancestors to many different "tribes" or nationalities. But it is also true that most Americans who have been here a few generations never think much about their ancestral roots — or how bloody the fights were among those many tribes and nationalities. Most have scant knowledge of their past beyond two generations or are even aware of the animosities and hatreds that existed between their foreign ancestors. "That's past history, what does that

Senator H.L. Richardson [ret.] contributes frequently to California Political Review. *John Kurzweil is* CPR's *editor.*

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have to do with us now?" Most think their ancestors just sort of morphed into becoming Americans.

One of our great blessings as a nation is that we have largely left behind the divisions (and the conflicts those divisions created) that drove so many people from their ancestral homes to immigrate to America. The bad news is that a great many Americans have also forgotten that it was exactly the common, unifying principles on which this nation was founded that permitted our forebears to escape from much of the strife of all the old worlds. *This* forgetfulness provides an opening for the nonsense about "diversity" now being lodged as protest not just against Judge Alito, but against the unity that actually lies at the heart of the nation we inhabit together. The chant of "diversity" drives the acrimonious debate over who we are and what values we inherit as our genuine heritage as Americans. The debate, already an ugly battle, is developing into a most uncivil war.

America elevated itself to become the most powerful, fruitful, and peaceful nation on earth through the hard work of men and women who shared common religious beliefs and values. Their faith fostered a deep belief in personal freedom. Americans elected as their leaders men who shared these core values. They often differed on how they should be implemented but never over their basic presuppositions.

What were these ideas and values that founded America and have held it together through more than two and a quarter centuries? The best way to answer that question is to ask the men who founded America and the leaders who followed them. They reach back to the men who gave us the Constitution and forward again to the leaders of the twentieth, and now the twenty-first, centuries. Their answers to this question are readily available for anyone energetic and open minded enough to study.

Let us start with America's most dynamic, outspoken patriot, Patrick Henry, who said: "It cannot be emphasized too strongly or too often that this great nation was founded not by religionists but by Christians, not on religions but on the Gospel of Jesus Christ. *For this very reason, peoples of other faiths have been offered asylum, prosperity, and freedom to worship here." (emphasis added)*

Not on "God," merely, but on "the Gospel of Jesus Christ." When our Christian forefathers spoke of God, they meant the Triune God of the Bible, both the Old and New Testaments: a living God who came to earth, was born of the Virgin Mary, Who was crucified, died on a cross, was buried, and resurrected; one Who still lives today, as we are informed by "the Gospel of Jesus Christ." And notice Henry's final remark: so far from this American Christian core being the threat to freedom of conscience the ACLU endlessly says it is, Patrick Henry saw that in fact it is the *source* of our religious freedom, freedom of thought and, within limits, of action. The whole point, of course, of the Christian message about our mission on earth is that we are, *by our free choices,* to determine our eternal destiny. It is, on the other hand, the gospel of human power as sole arbiter of right and wrong that scoffs at individual freedom, and, in all its many forms, demands conformity to whatever those at the top decide is best for everyone.

But was Patrick Henry's answer untypical? No: for another example, John Jay, the first chief justice of the Supreme Court, wrote: "Providence has given to our people the choice of their rulers, and it is the duty as well as the privilege and interest of our Christian nation to select and prefer Christians for their rulers. Our laws and our institutions must necessarily be based on and embody the Redeemer of Mankind ... it is impossible that it should be otherwise and in this sense and to this extent our civilization and our institutions are emphatically Christian."

Madison, the father of our Constitution, wrote: "We have staked the whole of our political institutions upon the capacity of mankind for self government, upon the capacity of each and all of us to govern ourselves, to control ourselves, to sustain ourselves according to the Ten Commandments of God."

George Washington said "It is impossible to rightly govern the world without God and the Bible."

When signing the Declaration of Independence Sam Adams declared, "We have this day restored the Sovereign to whom men alone ought to be obedient. He reigns in heaven ... from the rising to the setting sun, His kingdom come."

These aren't just randomly selected quotes. They represent the thinking of the vast majority of those who established the Constitution and governed our nation. They were one and all exactly the sort of men and women today's "diversity" peddlers would excoriate as dictatorial and demand be *excluded* from any positions of authority in public life as people hopelessly opposed to America's core principles.

At this point, some skeptic will usually pipe up to say "OK, that was then — but that was hundreds of years ago."

Not so. Only during the last century has the tone and substance of public debate on these issues

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changed, slowly at first, then picking up speed the last 40 years. Until the middle of the twentieth century, *every* American president from Washington to Truman referred to America as a Christian nation. Some Americans complained, beginning at the very start of the nation, but it was only a remote few. For the vast majority, Christian unifying principles remained the common heritage, possession, and faith that formed our nation's soul.

Forty years after the Declaration of Independence, Noah Webster, the great educator, stated: "The religion which has introduced civil liberty, is the religion of Christ and his apostles, which enjoins humility, piety, and benevolence; which acknowledges in every person a brother, or a sister, and a citizen of equal rights. This is genuine Christianity, and to this we owe our free Constitution of government."

John Quincy Adams, president from 1825 to 1829, stated "The highest glory of the American Revolution was this: It connected in one undissolvable bond, the principles of civil government with those of Christianity."

Still later, Abraham Lincoln stated: "I am nothing, but truth is everything; I know that I am right because I know that liberty is right, for Christ teaches it, and Christ is God."

William McKinley, president from 1897 until 1901 — a man not known for reticence in speaking his mind — boldly said: "Nail the flag just below the cross! That is high enough — Christ and country, nothing can come between or prevail against them."

McKinley's vice president, Theodore Roosevelt, who was president from 1901 until 1909, saw the pagan tempest on the horizon. "There are those who believe that a new modernity demands a new morality," Roosevelt said. "What they fail to consider is the harsh reality that there is no such thing as a new morality. There is only one morality. There is only true Christian ethics over against which stands the whole of paganism. If we are to fulfill our great destiny as a people, then we must return to the old morality, the sole morality." He also warned: "All those blatant sham reformers, in the name of new morality, preach the old, old vice and self indulgence which rotted out first the moral fiber and then even the external greatness of Greece and Rome." Employing language that would scandalize today's "diversity" censors, Teddy Roosevelt spoke of Christian ethics, not as "one among many moralities," but as "the sole morality" whose opponents he called "sham reformers" whose own faith was nothing new, but really "the old, old vice and self indulgence" of "paganism."

How about the twentieth century's first Democrat president, Woodrow Wilson? Wilson warned that "A nation which does not remember what it was yesterday, does not know what it is today, or where it is trying to go. We are trying to do a futile thing if we do not know where we came from or what we have been about .... " Of his own faith, he simply said, "I firmly believe in Divine Providence. Without a belief in Providence I think I should go crazy. Without God the world would be a maze without a clue."

Moving along, we find Franklin Delano Roosevelt's 1942 Christmas message to our troops including the words: "To all Americans I say that loving our neighbor as we love ourselves is not enough — that we as a Nation and as individuals will please God best by showing regard for the laws of God. There is no better way of fostering good will toward man than by first fostering good will toward God. If we love Him we will keep His Commandments .... It is significant that Christmas Day our plants and factories will be stilled. That is not true of the other holidays. On all other holidays work goes on — gladly — for the winning of the war. So Christmas becomes the only holiday in all the year. I like to think that this is so because Christmas is a holy day. May all it stands for live and grow throughout the years."

The next president, Harry Truman, said "The fundamental basis of this nation's laws was given to Moses on the Mount ... If we don't have a proper fundamental background, we will end up with a totalitarian government which does not believe in the rights of anybody except the State." Truman, the last president to refer publicly to America as a Christian nation, completed a span of 146 years during which no president had the least trouble identifying the plain truth that America's defining principles and values are Christian.

And although it has now become a matter of controversy, acknowledgement of the Christian foundation on which our freedom stands is still heard from our presidents. "Sometimes," President Ronald Reagan said in his 1983 Christmas Address, "in the hustle and bustle of holiday preparations we forget that the true meaning of Christmas ... [is] the birth of the Prince of Peace, Jesus Christ .... During this glorious festival let us renew our determination to follow His example." President Reagan also said "Without God there is a coarsening of society: without God democracy will not and can-

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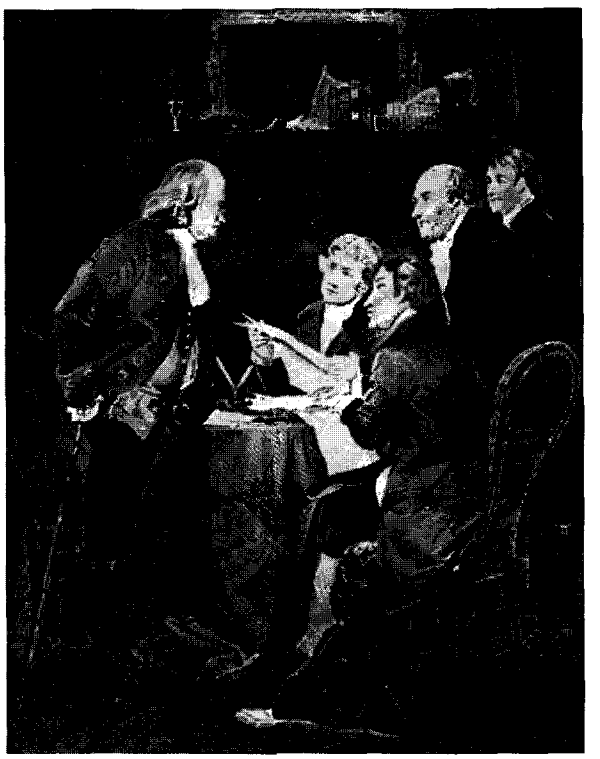
not long endure ... If we ever forget that we are One Nation Under God, then we will be a Nation gone under."

Since then, while not proclaiming the once commonplace truism that America is in its roots and principles a Christian nation, President George W. Bush nonetheless opened the twenty-first century professing his own Christian beliefs. Left-wing heathens condemned and ridiculed him for it, but no fair reading of America's history or any coherent understanding of Christian teaching and America's political philosophy could possibly fail to see that Bush represents the genuine soul of America, while the anti-Christian left represents its overthrow and replacement by an altogether alien idea.



But what about those "57 varieties"? Not all are Christian, to be sure, nor even are all religious. What united them in the past? What unites them today? America's founding principles being Christian does not mean every American must be himself a Christian believer, any more than America's system of voting to select our leaders must be wholeheartedly embraced by every American to remain the defining, legitimate way we choose those who govern us. The 57 varieties came to this country not necessarily to be Christian themselves, although many of them did come for that reason, but to enjoy the blessings a Christian nation bestows on all its citizens, Christian or not. John Jay, whom I quoted earlier, wrote in Federalist Paper No. 2: "Providence has been pleased to give this one connected country to one united people ... a people descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, attached to the same principles of government, very similar in their manners and customs." He was speaking of our Bible-believing European ancestors who flocked to our shores, eager to leave behind the animosities and national and tribal hatreds that had constantly plagued their homelands, eager to be assimilated into the American experience. In other words: to be Americans, to leave behind their warring "roots," to be born again and join a new tribe.

Americans are less homogeneous in their backgrounds and beliefs today than they were when Jay wrote those words, but the vast majority still want the blessings of peace and freedom this nation was founded to provide and, because it was founded on solid principles, has in fact provided far better than any other in human history. The question is, how great a portion of the American people, or of their leaders, can abandon those founding Christian principles without so undermining the American foundation that we endanger our peace and freedom? That question brings us back to the Alito Supreme Court nomination and the issues it involves. Former U.S. Court of Appeals Justice Robert Bork described those issues in a *Wall Street Journal* article about the moral anarchy created recently by the U.S. Supreme Court:

> The justices have weakened the authority of other institutions, public and private, such as schools, businesses and churches; assisted in sapping the vitality of religion through a transparently false interpretation of the establishment clause; denigrated marriage and destroyed taboos about foul language in public; protected as free speech the basest pornography, including computer-simulated child pornography; weakened political parties and permitted prior restraints on political speech, violating the core of the First Amendment's guarantee of freedom of speech; created a right to abortion virtually on demand, invalidated the laws of all 50 states; whittled down capital punishment, on the path apparently to abolish it entirely; mounted a campaign to normalize homosexuality, culminating soon, it seems obvious, in a right to homosexual marriage; permitted discrimination on the basis of race and sex at the expense of white males; and made the criminal justice system needlessly slow and complex, tipping the balance in favor of criminals.

This court record represents a force in America increasingly cut off from the nation's defining beliefs and bent on severing every American's reliance upon them. In the name of "diversity" it opposes any sort of deviation from its own narrow

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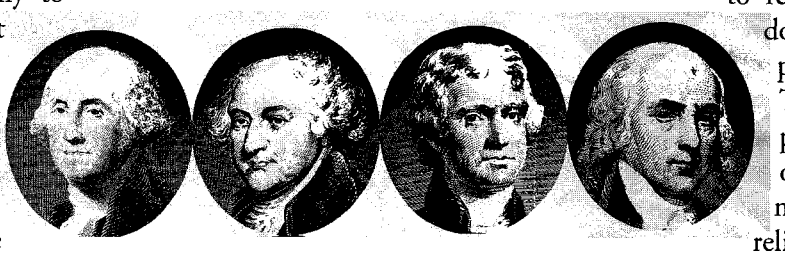
political line. Perhaps this is surprising, but it shouldn't be. The true source of real toleration and diversity is not rejection of Christ, but in Christ himself, as Patrick Henry and all those quoted above observed either directly or by implication. When the founding fathers went beyond talking about Christ and Christianity actually to create a government embodying their Christian principles, they laid the groundwork for the tolerance of differences that has given us the very peace and freedom today's hypocritical champions of "diversity" want to bring down.



What are Christian principles, as they relate to politics and government? The starting place for understanding how those principles play out politically is knowing that acceptance of Christ is acceptance of the abolition of all past tribes, nations, and races — not of human diversity in its endless variety of positive characteristics, but absolute abolition of the age-old sin of judging and establishing moral worth by race, by color, by category, and replacing that with concern for the content of each individual soul. "Whatever you do to the least of my brethren," Christ said, "you do to me." Thus by accepting Him, we accept all people, all nations, all races: black, white, yellow or red, it makes no difference. God lives in everyone we meet. And everyone, by accepting Him, can become one of the chosen children of God.

The Bible is quite clear. Saint Paul tells us in Galatians 3:28, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus. And if you are Christ's then you are Abraham's seed, and the heirs according to the promise."

Mystery of mysteries, Christ's very choice of Saul, a persecutor and murderer of Christians, to carry His word to the gentiles indicates the universality of Christianity's embrace of humanity. Christ asked Saul to be "a light to the gentiles" to bring salvation to the ends of the earth.

The principle is unmistakable in our Declaration of Independence: rights are not given by government; they're endowed on individual men, all men, by God inalienably. Thus, the people are sovereign; their governors serve *them.* We rule ourselves through elections, and through constitutionally-limited government, according to the limits the people ratify — all because, as Noah Webster said (quoted above): "the religion of Christ ... acknowledges in every person a brother, or a sister, and a citizen of equal rights."

We see the truth of the Founders' contention that we must retain our Christian basis or lose our freedom played out before our eyes in the program of those who say we need neither God nor Christianity to remain free. Any random sampling of their positions proves it. They fight to suppress every guarantee of the First Amendment: undermining religious freedom in their attacks on any public acknowledgement of Christ by public institutions or officials; they attack free speech in the name of "electoral reform"; they assail the Boy Scouts' freedom of conscience and assembly, along with that of any other people who refuse to succumb to their anti-religious program.

We could go through Amendments two through ten and show an equally consistent animosity toward human freedom on the part of those who demand non-religion in the name of diversity. They favor always bigger government, higher taxes, more regulation, and the consequent diminishing of individual freedom. Their only message is one long tale of woe about the failures of freedom: only by curbing it can we protect the down-trodden, protect the innocent, protect the environment, keep us safe in our health or our homes. At the same time they always portray state controls as big-hearted benevolence certain to bring everything people need. And they never repent when their programs and policies fail to deliver; they merely demand more power, and less freedom, still. As Christ said: it is not by their words, but by their fruits you shall know them.

The left's consistent program of intolerance proves Theodore Roosevelt's point that "there is no such thing as a new morality. There is only one morality. There is only true Christian ethics over against which stands the whole of paganism. If we are to fulfill our great destiny as a people, then we must return to the old morality, the sole morality."

The best of the world came to America because we were a Christian nation, to become one people, one tribe, one nation in Christ Jesus. They sought His leadership in order to receive the promises of scripture: "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."

I doubt if contemporary Americans have ever

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

arrival. The problem is straightforward: the U.S. Postal Service enjoys a governmentally-imposed monopoly on delivery of periodical mail, which includes *California Political Review*. Like all government monopolies, the U.S. Postal Service is unaccountable, free from competition, and therefore provides poor service.

U.S.P.S. promises to deliver "periodical mail," a specific class within the postal system, as expeditiously as first class mail. Periodical publishers are charged a significantly lower rate than first class or "priority" rates in exchange for doing a significant portion of the postal work themselves: sorting, packaging, and sacking the mail according to its multifarious destinations before the postal workers receive it. This, of course, should *speed* its delivery to even greater than first class swiftness inasmuch as first class mail must be sorted, packaged, etc. before it is as ready to go as are periodicals the minute that postal workers receive them.

(Another reason periodical mail is relatively inexpensive, a postal employee once told me, was that Benjamin Franklin, America's first Postmaster General, was also a magazine publisher and wanted to help his business with favorable postage rates. I'm inclined to believe the story, mainly because it implies that the post office, like a good bureaucracy, hasn't updated its rules in more than two centuries. But, if the story *is* true, I wish Ben had done his business and all periodical publishers a real favor and left a free, competitive market in magazine delivery.)

With this background in mind, I point out that *CPR's* Nov./Dec. issue was mailed over a three-day period, Oct. 26 to 28, *i.e.*, between 13 and 11 days before the Nov. 8 election, with the magazines having furthest to travel going first. Those copies sent to Los Angeles County addresses were mailed Oct. 27 in Van Nuys, meaning that Ms. Chavez's copy took 21 days, a full three weeks, to travel about 40 miles and be delivered "just as is first class mail." Not all copies were similarly delayed; copies arrived in Sacramento, I am informed, as early as Nov. 2 — still taking a week, but also still in plenty of time to permit thorough yet leisurely reading before election day.

The obvious solution — mail pre-election issues a month before the election — carries the also obvious problem of handing our readers five- to six-week old "news" as they make their final consideration of the issues. A better — though by no means perfect — solution is to back up these especially time-sensitive issues of *CPR* by posting at least their most time-sensitive articles online as well as in print, an alternative we are examining. The best solution would be for the American people to demand this monopoly be broken up, but we won't wait for that to happen. CPR

Richardson/Kurzweil

thought of our forefathers as members of a tribe. Oh? The dictionary defines "nation" as: "A stable, historically developed community of people with a territory, economic life, distinctive culture, and language in common. A people or tribe."

There's that word "tribe" again.

Have Americans ever been a "tribe"?

Historical evidence indicates that for close to two hundred years we had been, but it is debatable that we still are. When contemplating the dictionary's definition of "stable," or having a "distinctive culture," or "common character," the question is presently in doubt. "Diversity" is part of the politically correct rot of today. We must "respect' all religions and, therefore, respect those who believe in them, even though these beliefs justify and practice a caste system, teach vengeance, advocate holy *jihad,* or preach death to those who would depart from their beliefs. This is a far cry from the religion of the Founders. It is one thing to respect one's right to voice a religious opinion, and another to respect the substance of what they say.

Abraham Lincoln said "a house divided cannot stand"; and neither can America if diversity continues to mean war against our own original roots. Best we remember a few more words of Patrick Henry: "There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations .... the battle sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave." Are we the active, the brave who must be vigilant? Are we wise enough to return to the tribe of Christ? Time will soon tell. CPR

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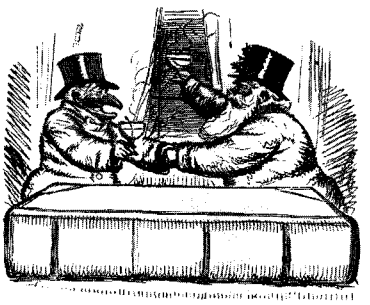

CRITICUS

Everland

BY G.B. TENNYSON

IT WAS in 1987 when I was working with Owen Barfield editing his various essays and writings on his friend C.S. Lewis that I conducted a recorded conversation with him about Lewis. I added our conversation to his two earlier ones with others and printed it in the book that was published as *Owen Barfield on C.S. Lewis* (Wesleyan University Press, 1989; alas, now out of print). I asked Barfield what he thought was Lewis's greatest literary achievement. He replied that in fiction it would be *Till We Have Faces* and "philosophically or doctrinally *The Abolition of Man.*" Not in contradiction but nevertheless not wholly satisfied with this answer, I then asked him which of Lewis's writings he thought would survive the longest.

Barfield replied: "I wouldn't be surprised, if I were restored to life in one hundred years' time or two hundred years' time, if I found that the books of his that were still being read were the 'Narnia' series." An equally prescient Criticus immediately agreed, saying, "I rather suspect the same."

Of course it's still a long wait for one hundred years after Barfield's passing in 1997, to say nothing of two hundred, but if we count the time since the publication of the Narnian Chronicles from 1950 to 1956, it has already been more than a half century since the appearance of all but the last of the series, and it looks as though Barfield's and my anticipation is already being realized. The film adaptation of *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe,* the first of the Chronicles (a term Lewis did not employ but was bestowed by his friend and later biographer Roger Lancelyn Green and has become standard) was the Christmas blockbuster of 2005, fifty-five years after its first publication.

NONE OF the foregoing is intended to disparage the numerous other achievements of the extraordinarily prolific Lewis. In a preface for a book on Lewis, Barfield writes of "The Five C.S. Lewises." In that brief piece Barfield actually identifies three literary Lewises (literary critic, fiction writer, Christian apologist) and two personal Lewises (before and after his conversion). He

G.B. Tennyson is a longtime friend of Narnia who awaits future films of the other books in the Chronicles but who recommends reading all of the volumes first so that you can experience more than once the joy of Neverland and can more fully understand the meaning of Everland.

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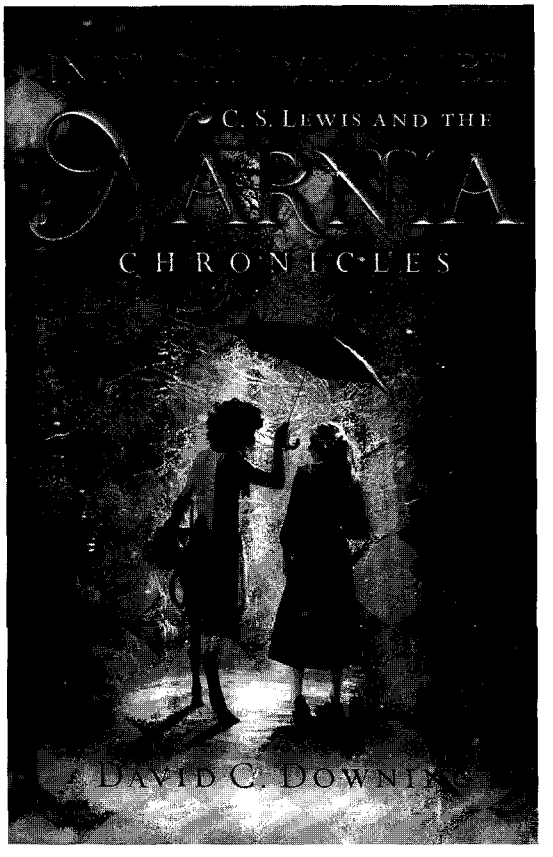
notes that the three literary Lewises do not always overlap in terms of readers or followers. To expand a bit on that point, I note that Lewis the literary critic has been a staple of graduate education in English but scarcely anywhere else, and Lewis the apologist has been a virtual saint among Christians, especially Evangelicals, but scarcely anywhere else, and Lewis the fiction writer has been to a greater or lesser degree popular among both of the previous groups but astoundingly popular among general readers who know little or nothing of the other Lewises. The Chronicles have reportedly sold something in the neighborhood of 100 million copies.



As for books and articles *about* Lewis, the field up to now has been dominated by studies of Lewis the Christian apologist. To be sure, there have been studies of all the Lewises, including of course the Chronicles. The first book on the Chronicles was Walter Hooper's *Past Watchful Dragons* in 1971. In 1973 came *The Lion of Judah in Never-Never Land* by the now recently deceased Kathryn Lindskoog, famous in Lewis circles for her proprietary attitude towards Lewis's writings and her contentious way with almost all others who dared tread upon "her" turf. (Yes, even your humble Criticus has been among her many nemeses, albeit a minor one.) Since 1973 the number of books on Narnia has grown, most especially in very recent years. But in the first three or four decades after Lewis's death, studies of Narnia were overtaken by books about Lewis's apologetics, which have largely held the field until recently.

Now it is the turn of books about Narnia. In 2005 alone books about Narnia approached something like a baker's dozen, especially if we count revisions and reissues, to say nothing of articles and chapters in books. From this harvest Criticus has selected four new books about Narnia that he thinks readers of this column may find of interest. That two of them are by a former student of mine is a most pleasant accident. The four are: *Aslan's Call: Finding our Way to Narnia* by Mark Eddy Smith (InterVarsity Press), *The Way into Narnia: A Reader's Guide* by Peter J. Schakel (Eerdmans Publishing Co.), *Into the Region of Awe* (InterVarsity Press) and *Into the Wardrobe: C.S. Lewis and the Narnia Chronicles* (John Wiley Books), both of these last by David C. Downing. Downing, my one-time student, has also written two previous books on Lewis. To do two in one year couples brilliance with industry, a very Lewisian combination.

For the benefit of Constant Readers considering which books to look into and possibly buy or give as gifts Criticus offers some comments on the four cited Narnia titles. *Aslan's Call* is the least sophisticated of the four books, but one well suited for the category booksellers like to call "young adult." It is a brief book (127 pages) that goes chapter by chapter through each book of the Chronicles. The author retells the story of each book and follows each with a discussion of the theological implications. There is also an Afterword and a series of questions for each book. Older Christian readers will find this treatment somewhat simplistic, but it is appropriately suited for its intended audience.

Peter Schakel's *The Way into Narnia* is his third book on the Chronicles. Not surprisingly it is very much more scholarly than Eddy's *Aslan's Call,* but it is nevertheless also a guide to the Chronicles, as indicated by its subtitle "A Reader's Guide." The first three chapters are devoted to the background of composition and the nature of the kind of fiction Lewis was writing. He stands with Lewis's term for what that kind of fiction is, namely the Fairy Tale, especially as defined by Lewis in congruence with the concept enunciated by his friend J. R. R. Tolkien. (That Lord of literary rings, by the way, disapproved of Lewis's mixture of so many various mythological and folklorish elements in Narnia, but then Criticus recalls the story of Hugo Dyson at one of the Inklings sessions in which Tolkien was reading from his *Rings* cycle rising

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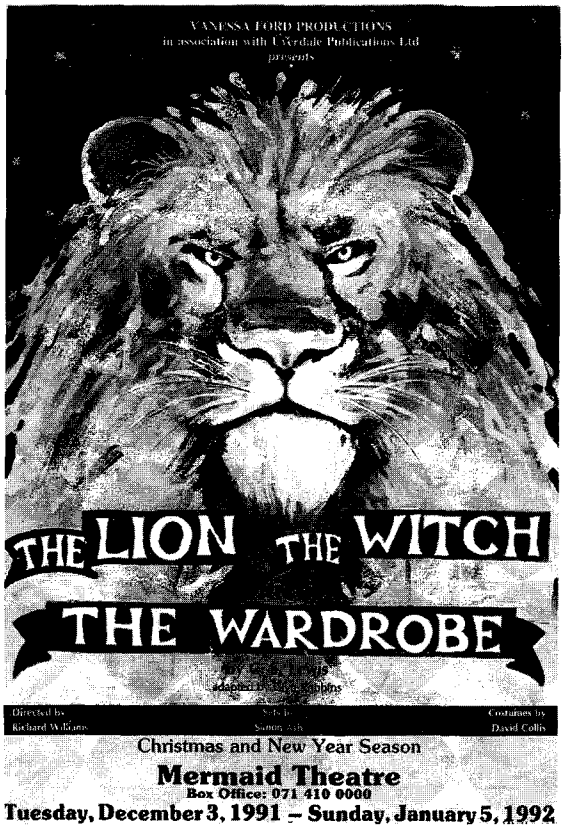
up and saying "No more elves! No more elves!" *Touché.)* In addition to the fairy tale Schakel also considers the elements of fantasy and myth that color the stories. Then he devotes a chapter to each of the books and follows this with pages of annotations to each book. The chapters on the individual books are well done, best suited for use by parents or teachers.



Schakel's forty-odd pages of annotations are keyed to the chapters and paragraphs of each book, not to page numbers, as the different pagination in the many editions of the Chronicles is such that page numbers would be of limited use. Some of the annotations will be self-evident to the learned reader, especially one versed in Lewis studies. Others are more obscure and will be helpful to all. Criticus is pleased to be able to add to Schakel's annotation of the name *Narnia.* Schakel writes: "The name is that of a small medieval town in Italy, halfway between Rome and Assisi, and was chosen probably because Lewis liked the sound of the word." Thanks to a photograph Walter Hooper sent to Criticus years back, I can suggest that it was probably more than just the sound of the word. The photo shows the interior of the cathedral at Narni (modern Italian for Narnia) wherein reposes the uncorrupted body of St. Lucy, the patron saint of the town. Surely the combination of the place and the name of the saint jointly commended themselves to Lewis, for Lucy is as close as any of the children come to being the heroine of Narnia.

Like Schakel, David Downing is a seasoned Lewis scholar. Prior to the two books on Lewis in 2005, Downing had published *Planets in Peril* (1992) about Lewis's Space Trilogy and *The Most Reluctant Convert* (2002) about Lewis's conversion to Christianity. Of Downing's current books on Lewis it was stretching the point for Criticus to speak of both of them as books on Narnia. *Into the Region of Awe* is actually a study of mysticism in C.S. Lewis, and one that is long overdue. Because Lewis in his specifically apologetic works, such as *Mere Christianity,* strove to avoid any kind of divisive or extreme religious position he has become known and admired by many as a truly practical, no-nonsense Christian apologist. Lewis has also been celebrated as a clear, logical thinker. He himself credited his pre-Oxford tutor W.T. Kirkpatrick with teaching him, indeed compelling him, to think and write with logical precision. It has been the logical theologian Lewis who has attracted the greatest attention from students of his thought and writing. Many think that religiously speaking that is the only Lewis there is.

But Downing shows with striking perception and erudition that there was a mystical element in Lewis's life and in his writing. Although he refers widely to various Lewis works, he specifically treats mysticism in the Space Trilogy and — important for our purposes here — in the Chronicles of Narnia. Downing does not claim that the Chronicles are specifically "mystical," still less allegorical as so many commentators have wrongly said. Rather, he calls them "incarnational fiction" that has many mystical overtones. When the children hear that "Aslan is on the move," they do not know who or what Aslan is, and yet "the very name has a mystical aura." Likewise, Aslan's death draws readers "much further into the realm of divine mysteries." Here too Criticus can point out that the name was more than merely attractive to Lewis; he knew it was Turkish for "lion." Of course it is Lewis's treatment of Aslan that invests this being with the mystical. For serious adult readers Downing's study of this important mystical element in Lewis's writing and especially in the Chronicles will be indispensable reading.

FINALLY, ON the book front, we have Downing's *Into the Wardrobe: C.S. Lewis and the Narnia Chronicles.* This is less academic than the book on mysticism, but it nevertheless contains much learning and insight in surprisingly com-

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pact form. Following so closely on the book on mysticism, one has the suspicion that this book may have been prompted by the fact that the film would be out by the end of the year. No matter; it's well worth your time. There is a brief biography of Lewis and then a half-dozen chapters on various aspects and dimensions of Narnia, including the genesis of the stories and their spiritual and moral aspects. Of particular pleasure for Criticus are the chapters on "Classical and Medieval Elements" in the stories and "What's in a Narnian Name?"

SPEAKING AGAIN of names, Downing also follows Paul Ford's magisterial *Companion to Narnia* (1980) in tracing the name Narnia to the town in Umbria but also without noting the Lucy link. Has Criticus herewith magically, mystically, added to Lewis lore? To do so is almost impossible considering how extensively Lewis's life and works have been examined, so I have probably been anticipated somewhere by someone. In the same vein Criticus thought he had discovered another unnoted association in the Chronicles. It is that the surname of the children is, with a minor spelling difference, that of two towns in Sussex on the south coast of England between Eastbourne and Hastings, namely Pevensey and Pevensey Bay. It does not appear in any spelling in the British *Dictionary of Surnames.* Did Lewis remember it from his stay with Kirkpatrick at Great Bookham in not so terribly far away Surrey? Had Criticus made another discovery? Not quite, it seems. The association is noted in a *Wikipedia* entry I came upon even while writing this piece. In *Wikipedia* it is also pointed out that in Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1907) Pevensey with its medieval castle is called "England's Gate." Criticus knows that Lewis read Kipling, so he would more than likely have been calling upon his richly stocked childhood reading memories.

The point, of course, of such explorations of words and associations is to enrich our understanding of Lewis's creative genius. Naturally, the characters in the story know nothing of the Turkish language or of Umbrian towns. Nor do they remark upon their surname, which does not appear until the third book of the Chronicles. Nor do most readers know or reflect upon these associations. But the children and readers as well do feel mystically the power of the Narnian world, much of it conveyed by the evocative names of persons and places and various literary associations.

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Does not just hearing the name Cair Paravel, for example, sound distant trumpets in the mind? It is certainly in part the abundance of reference and allusion in Lewis's writing that has attracted so many scholars to compile lists and guides and indeed to write books on Lewis's literary output.

Of course, all the books about Lewis and the Chronicles are no substitute for the stories themselves. Indeed, had Criticus known when he promised in the previous issue of *CPR* to write about the then-forthcoming film that innumerable Lewis and Narnia studies were pouring from the presses and that the massive publicity for the film would draw in every critic and commentator in the media — well, then, Criticus would have forborne to treat the subject at all. As is, he shall not in any conventional sense review the film, but he will make some brief comments on it before going on to draw some conclusions from it and from the phenomenon of the Chronicles overall.

THE FILM itself has of course been a tremendous box office success and deservedly so. Criticus saw it on opening night in the company of four children aged five to eleven and their parents, all relatives as it happens. Everyone enjoyed it greatly. There was even clapping throughout the theatre at moments of triumph for Narnia, especially the slaying of the White Witch. Such demonstrations are not that common in movie theatres. All that being said, Criticus would not be himself without having some small reservations. One is the heavy-handed way in which the film establishes at the beginning the reason for the evacuation of the children from London. Lewis handles it in one sentence on the first page of the book: "This story is about something that happened to [the four children] when they were sent away from London during the war because of the air raids." Of course he was writing

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On balance, Criticus gives the film an A-/B+. For USC dropouts that is one of those weasel grades that came in with grade inflation, along with having some students graduate with more than a four point average.

at a time when everyone remembered the Blitz and the evacuations. By contrast the film has us inside Nazi bombers listening to the Germans chatter as they gleefully drop their bombs, and we see the fire and destruction down below. No doubt the justification for this is the belief that the modern audience, especially the American one, would no longer be familiar with the evacuation. But it could have been conveyed much more economically and without modern technical effects.

MORE THAN that, we find that once the bombing begins the film creates another scene not in the book by having Edmund in defiance of his family run back into the house to retrieve and carry into the bomb shelter a photograph of his father who is away at war. He is soundly reproved for this, presumably to establish for the audience that Edmund is willful and unreliable. Criticus thought it showed a rather brave and filial Edmund. Another cavil: to the Critical eye the children do not look very much like siblings, and also they look somewhat older than I envisioned them, though these concerns fade as the story moves on. And finally, as is so frequent these days, the special effects, apart from the creation of Aslan, are almost as overdone as those in the science fiction intergalactic movies that all seem to have been made by George Lucas (whose studio is listed in the credits), except that here the effects are with the bizarre animals that swirl about often in wild confusion during the great battle scene so that it is difficult to know what is going on. But then real battle is like that.

So, on balance, Criticus gives the film an A-/B+. For USC dropouts that is one of those weasel grades that came in with grade inflation, along with the absurdity of having some students graduate with more than a four point average. Even so, the verdict is that the film is well worth seeing.

Beyond the matter of the film itself, what struck Criticus about the excitement generated by the film and its publicity was the arousal of interest in Lewis and Narnia that the whole business generated. I reached several conclusions about this. The first conclusion I have drawn came as something of a surprise to me. It is that Lewis has far more enemies than I realized. Of course I have known some individuals who do not care for Lewis the writer. One is an Anglican priest who finds that the Lewis world, especially the apologetics, seems to him too narrow and clubbish. This may be as much a reaction to Lewisolators as to Lewis himself. Another reader that I know who is actually a friend of this magazine declared that although he liked *The Screwtape Letters,* he didn't care at all for *The Abolition of Man.* He found it too English and academic, too stuffy for his taste. In a similar vein I can now at last reveal that Owen Barfield didn't much care for Tolkien's *Rings,* just as we have seen another Inkling who grew weary of it. But of course these last two points are not related to Narnia.

What truly came as a surprise to me was the considerable number of public Lewis haters. The British press was full of them once the film was released. One well known Lewis hater in England is Philip Pullman, who is also the author of children's books and who also happens to live in Oxford. He loathes the Chronicles and has declared that his aim in writing children's books is that he is "trying to undermine the basis of Christian belief." Criticus has not read any of Pullman's books, so I am not attacking them, only quoting the author. He does sound, however, as though he might be just the right companion for the White Witch.

More predictably than Pullman there are many left-leaning politically correct commentators who rail at Lewis and the Chronicles for all of the obvious PC reasons. For example, Lewis is racist for having used the term "darkies"; he is religiously bigoted and racist for his negative depiction of Calormen as an Arab-like, Muslim-like country in *The Horse and His Boy;* he is heartless about animal suffering as when Aslan strikes the horse in the same book; and, sin of sins, he is sexist. This latter charge is based on Lewis's depiction of so many evil characters as women, the White Witch being the pre-eminent example. Critics of his sexism also claim that most of his good characters are male. They further deplore Susan's apostasy at the end of the Chronicles while the boys stay true to Narnia. These sexist charges strike Criticus as especially

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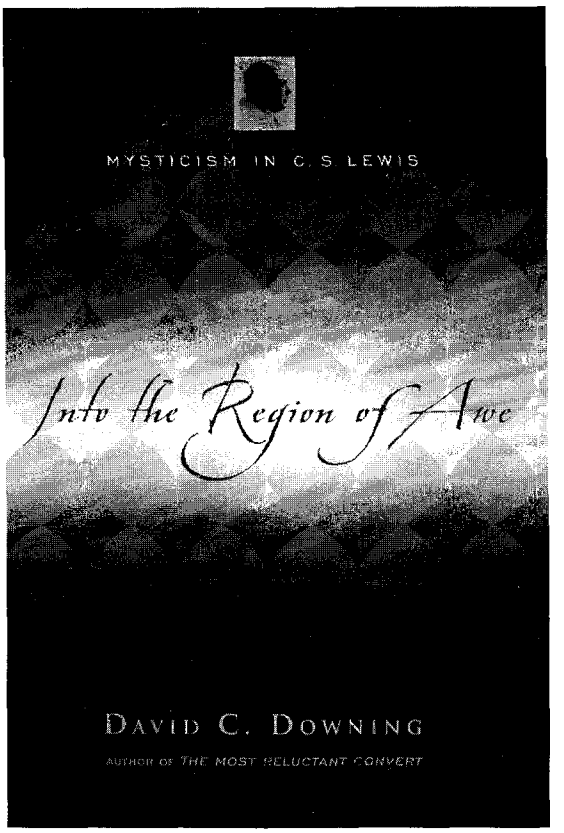
brainless. We must remember that at the very start it is a boy, Edmund, who betrays his siblings. We must also remember that it is a girl, Lucy, who is the most compassionate, and who of course stays true to Narnia and Aslan. Indeed, Criticus is ready to count up the good and the bad of each sex and do battle with the Feminazis on the topic.



THERE ARE also the intensely anti-religious types that detest the Chronicles for their pro-Christian elements. These Lewis-haters are, of course, the militant secularists and ACLU sympathizers, in other words, the Usual Suspects. But what surprised Criticus was the revelation that there are many on the Christian right who also denounce Lewis and the Chronicles as being dangerously un-Christian. The illuminating document in this sphere is an op-ed piece in, of all places, the *Los Angeles Times* of December 16. The author is one Catherine Seipp who writes for *National Review Online*. She is certainly a friend of Narnia and was herself surprised to come upon a considerable body of anti-Narnia commentators on the religious right. These persons detest Lewis for being an occultist, a pagan sun-god worshipper, and a secret Catholic, apparently all at the same time. Read Seipp's essay if you can get it or check her web site. Criticus believes you will be as astounded as he was to read that there are more than 500 websites devoted to attacking Lewis. They remind him of the hideous army of the White Witch that battles Aslan and the true Narnians at the end of *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe.* Perhaps the special effects people were on to something after all.

All of this opposition can only make those who love Narnia more favorably disposed to that imaginary world, more inclined to ponder its meaning, or what one might well call its Deeper Magic. It seems to this student of Lewis and the Chronicles that the single most enduring and most valuable aspect of all of Lewis's writing is what I am here calling "Everland." By this coinage, which is original with Criticus, I intend to convey both the Neverland aspect of Lewis's writings and the underlying concern those writings have with the idea of the land that lies beyond this one and beyond all worlds. I believe that Lewis's genius was to be able to write about this world and about imaginary worlds while at the same time writing about the world to come. And I am convinced that this came about as a consequence of his conversion in 1931.

Certainly Lewis was a born writer, as his childhood stories demonstrate, but it is noteworthy that his only published works before his conversion were the two volumes of verse, *Spirits in Bondage* (1919) and *Dymer* (1926), neither of which brought him much attention, though he continued to write poetry all his life. By contrast, in the thirty-two years after his conversion Lewis delivered an absolute torrent of books and essays such that it takes nine pages of small-type double-columned entries in one guide to Lewis to list them all and a count of seventy books and hundreds of other writings in another guide running to eighty-one pages. I am not arguing that all of this output was *about* Lewis's conversion, but I am arguing that the conversion was the release valve that set free Lewis's imagination and creativity. It seems to me no accident that Lewis was writing his spiritual autobiography *Surprised by Joy* at the same time he was writing the first of the Chronicles. Both are about a kind of Neverland of Joy and at the same time about an Everland that surpasses mere Joy and that has been designed as our ultimate home, the real Narnia as the close of the last of the series puts it when all who are faithful to Aslan must follow him and tearfully leave Narnia. Consolingly, Aslan explains that all their previous adventures had been just "the cover and the title page." Now they were beginning "Chapter One of the Great Story, which no one on earth has read: which goes on for ever: in which every chapter is better than the one before." CPR

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First Things

Strategic keystones

by John Kurzweil

American politics presents a strange contradiction: every one says they love freedom and oppose tyranny, and yet the inexorable march away from individual control over and responsibility for individual lives and toward state control can be measured and indisputably documented in a hundred ways. It continues its plodding course no matter who wins elections, no matter what issues rise and fall with the electorate, no matter what events impact public perceptions of life and the world.

But the contradiction, at a second look, turns out to be illusory. Many who say they oppose tyranny, well, lie. And many people who genuinely support freedom take it for granted, showing small enthusiasm for projects to sustain it. The rarest of phenomena — a real republic — is assumed by most of its American beneficiaries to be more or less the natural state of humanity, so much so that they bother to learn next to nothing about why and how it came to be planted so uniquely here in the West out of all the world's mostly unfree peoples and during our lifetimes out of all mankind's long, mostly unfree history. This column is devoted to First Things because they are the building blocks of our freedom; failure to consider them, to get to know them, and to learn to recognize and combat the diseases that typically threaten them is how freedom is lost, as we see happening.

John Kurzweil is CPR's *editor.*

In my opening column in this space, "Role Reversal," (*CPR*, Nov./Dec. 2005) I named what I called *the* First Thing: God, because the proposition that God exists and is man's Creator and final judge leads to America's founding principle: that God rules over all men — kings and governments as much as the lowliest creature in the realm (hence, King George's failure to respect the "inalienable rights" with which God has "endowed all men" forfeited for him his authority to rule in America).

This American founding proposition is an insurmountable bulwark against tyranny. However, as I also remarked last time, freedom's enemies seem to appreciate this point much better than do its friends. The left instinctively recognizes and viciously attacks every strategic keystone on which freedom rests, not only faith in God, the primary obstacle to their plans, but what I call His five aspects as we see them in human life: good, life, love, truth, and beauty. Leftists adhere, for example, to a never-wavering relativism, a conceptual miasma in which neither God nor good, life, love, beauty, nor, most obviously, truth retain substance or meaning. Relativism, with a fearful symmetry (to borrow Blake's phrase), eviscerates even itself by proclaiming as "true" that nothing is true, achieving imbecility and calling it sophistication.

For more specifics: on good, Ronald Reagan was called a "dunce" by the left for condemning the Soviet Empire as "evil"; not on grounds that communism was good, but, in standard left practice, on grounds that good and evil are either indefinable or purely imaginary and, in any case, irrelevant.

On life, the left promotes death on every issue from abortion on demand to euthanasia to the death penalty (which, in this country, recognizes the sanctity of innocent life by imposing the ultimate penalty for murder — the left never condemns death penalties imposed by terrorists, communists, or anyone who holds life in contempt.)

On love, the family, along with religion, our culture's two primary institutions for teaching real love (which involves self-sacrifice), are under nonstop and perfectly open left-wing assault as archaic, repressive, superstitious, hate-provoking perversions destroying the human spirit. As for truth, see: relativism (and what the left has done to our schools). And on beauty, see Hollywood. The preservation or loss of these five strategic keystones — good, life, love, truth, beauty — will decide the battle for our freedom. Those who know this hold a decisive advantage in America's political wars.

Next: A closer look at the first aspect: good. CPR

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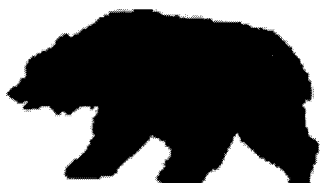

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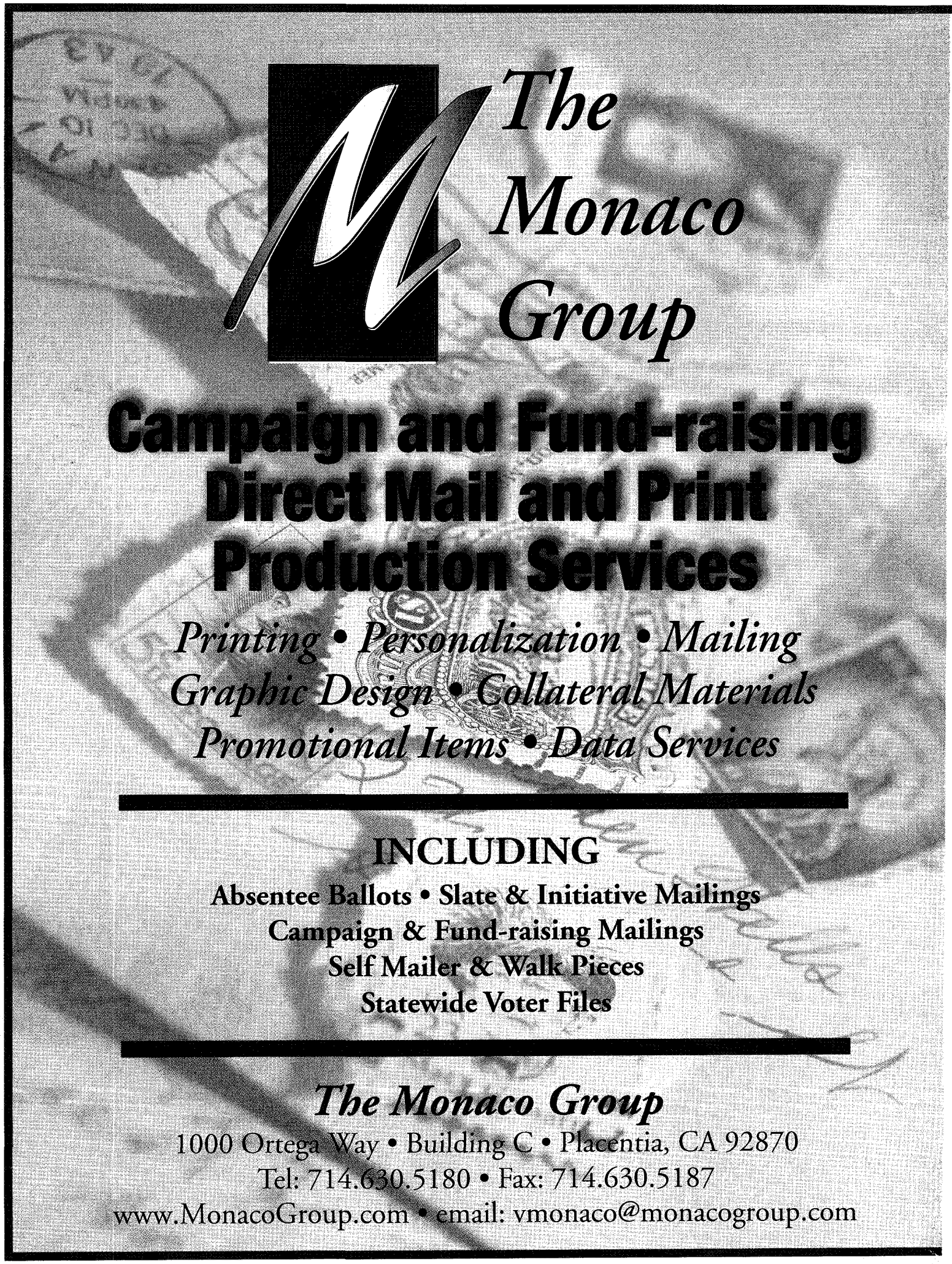
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